TIME

Hillary Rodham Clinton *is the first woman to have won a major party's nomination for President of the United States*

FIRSTS

WOMEN WHO ARE CHANGING THE WORLD

SHONDA RHIMES • ELLEN DEGENERES • JANET YELLEN • NANCY PELOSI
RITA DOVE • SHERYL SANDBERG • ANN DUNWOODY • RACHEL MADDOW
DANICA PATRICK • LORI ROBINSON • KATHRYN SMITH • AVA DUVERNAY
RITA MORENO • NIKKI HALEY • AND 32 OTHERS

A TIME SPECIAL PROJECT

TIME

Oprah Winfrey *is the first woman to own and produce her own talk show*

FIRSTS

WOMEN WHO ARE CHANGING THE WORLD

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT • SHONDA RHIMES • HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON • URSULA BURNS
JENNIFER YUH NELSON • GABBY DOUGLAS • MAYA LIN • BARBARA WALTERS
KATHARINE JEFFERTS SCHORI • GEISHA WILLIAMS • LORETTA LYNCH
MO'NE DAVIS • ILHAN OMAR • CANDIS CAYNE • AND 32 OTHERS

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Selena Gomez *is the first person to reach 100 million followers on Instagram*

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Ellen DeGeneres *is the first person to have starred as an openly gay character on prime-time TV*

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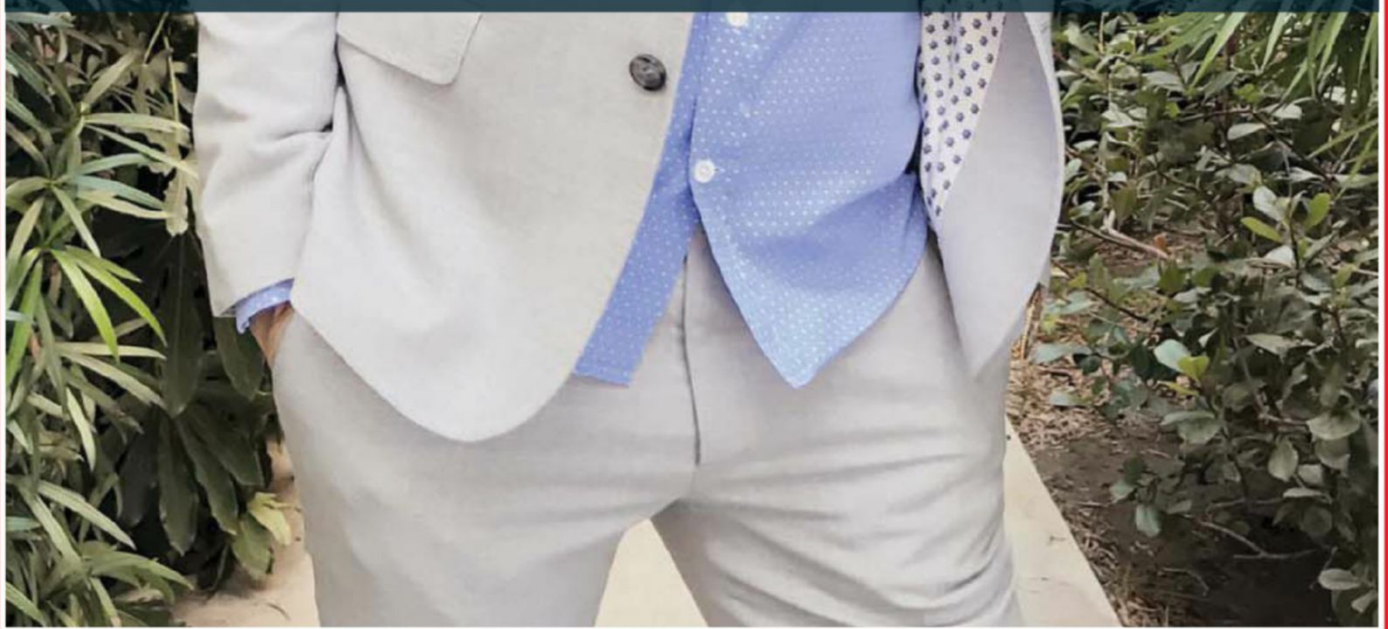

TIME

Nikki Haley, *ambassador to the U.N., is the first Indian-American woman to have been elected governor*

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Ava DuVernay *is the first black woman to direct a film nominated for a Best Picture Oscar*

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Janet Yellen *is the first woman to chair the Federal Reserve*

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Ilhan Omar *is the first Somali-American Muslim person to become a legislator*

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Lori Robinson *is the first woman to lead a top-tier U.S. Combat Command*

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Katharine Jefferts Schori *is the first woman to have been elected presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church*

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Sylvia Earle *is the first woman to have been appointed chief scientist of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration*

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Mo'ne Davis *is the first girl to pitch a shutout and win a game in a Little League World Series*

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Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism
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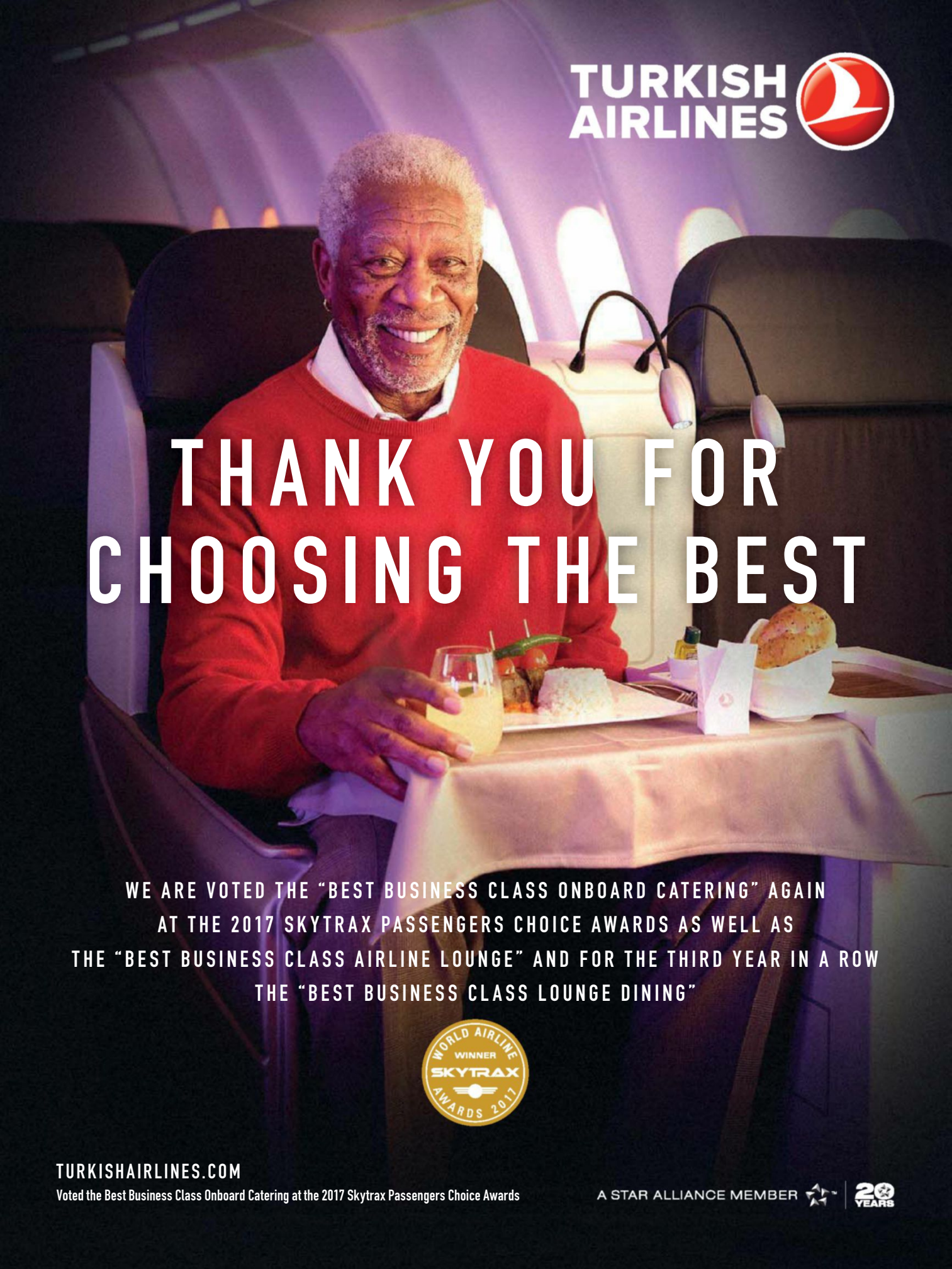
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TIME
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An aerial view of a flooded neighborhood in Orange, Texas, on Sept. 2

Photograph by Balazs Gardi

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Luisa Dörr for TIME*

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Seeing is believing

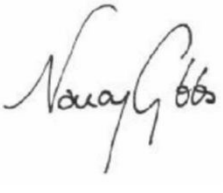
MORE THAN A YEAR AGO, KIRA POLLACK, *TIME*'S immensely creative director of photography and visual enterprise, proposed a project exploring the experiences of women who were pioneers in their field: the first woman to command a space shuttle, or chair the Federal Reserve, or coach an NFL team, or design a memorial for the National Mall. Her idea began as a series of portraits but quickly evolved into a multimedia project that now includes dozens of videos, interviews, a book and this special issue.

While our focus was on the journeys that were traveled by extraordinary women, there is plenty here to inspire people of all ages, in all areas of endeavor. Some striking themes emerged—the importance of joy, the fierce motivational force of failure, the satisfaction of successes both achieved and shared. Our goal with this project is embodied by those we profiled: if you can't see it, you can't be it. For young women, seeing so many other women of dramatically different backgrounds achieving in fields ranging from gymnastics to genomics is a strong signal that success and service come in many forms, and everyone gets to pick their own icons.

Look for the hashtag #SheIsTheFirst to share stories about groundbreaking women in your life.

To shoot the portraits, Kira recruited Brazilian photographer Luisa Dörr, who created all of these images on an iPhone, working with TIME producer Tara Johnson, who recruited our subjects. Ideas editor Claire Howorth was the editor of the project, and design director Chrissy Dunleavy designed both the beautiful book and the package in this issue. Spencer Bakalar and Diane Tsai, led by Justine Simons, created the videos, while Abigail Abrams and Merrill Fabry managed a mountain of research. And through it all, Kira conducted the orchestra, with her characteristic passion.

I asked creative director D.W. Pine to design a dozen different covers, a first in our history. If you travel the world, you can collect them all. Here is our cheat sheet of Women Who Are Changing the World.



Nancy Gibbs,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

TIME interviewed 46 women across a variety of disciplines, ages and locations. Twelve of them are featured on their own cover, and all their stories can be found inside every issue. For extended interviews, videos and more from these women, head to **time.com/firsts**

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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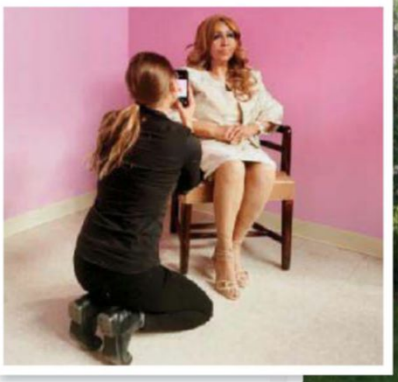
FIRSTS

Behind the Scenes

Brazilian photographer Luisa Dörr used her iPhone to make pictures of all 46 women in this project. Dörr, who says she likes that method for its simplicity, traveled to a dozen states with TIME video producers Spencer Bakalar and Diane Tsai to capture her subjects in their element.



Aretha Franklin in Detroit

Nikki Haley in the Rose Garden at the U.N. in New York City

Hillary Rodham Clinton in Chappaqua, N.Y.

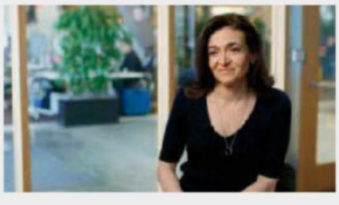
Serena Williams in New York City

Tsai, Dörr, Oprah Winfrey and Bakalar at the OWN office in Los Angeles

THE BOOK
shop.time.com
Find extended interviews and more portraits of the women who shattered glass ceilings in the *Firsts* book, available for preorder in the TIME Shop.

THE PERFORMANCE
time.com/firsts
Along with her interview, Aretha Franklin granted TIME an exclusive performance of "Rock of Ages" at her father's church in Detroit. Watch the video, directed by Gillian Laub, on the website.

THE VIDEOS
time.com/firsts
For more about the women who were the first in their field, watch video interviews with our subjects at the online home of *Firsts*.



THE HASHTAG
#SheIsTheFirst
To see more about women who shaped the world—and to share stories of the groundbreaking women in your life—check out the hashtag #SheIsTheFirst.

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‘The four most solid buildings on the island have been destroyed.’

GÉRARD COLLOMB, French Interior Minister, initially assessing the Caribbean island St. Martin after Hurricane Irma made its first landfall; a Category 5 storm with 185-m.p.h. winds, Irma is one of the strongest Atlantic Ocean hurricanes ever recorded

54.72

Height, in feet, of the record holder for world’s tallest sand castle, built from 3,500 tons of sand by a travel agent in Duisburg, Germany, and completed on Sept. 1

2,600

Number of **career assists** Seattle Storm guard Sue Bird made as of Sept. 1 to set a WNBA record

2.8

Width, in miles, of the asteroid nicknamed Florence that flew past Earth on Sept. 1 at a distance of about 4.4 million miles, the **largest asteroid to pass so close to our planet** since NASA started recording such occurrences in 1890

‘At the end of the day ... we’re two people who are really happy and in love.’

MEGHAN MARKLE, actor, dismissing the online trolls and tabloid reports that have attacked her relationship with Prince Harry

Duchess of Cambridge
Kensington Palace announced that she and Prince William are expecting their third child

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Lady Gaga
The pop star canceled a concert because of laryngitis

‘We’re 100% comfortable that it is not an ongoing issue.’

ROB MANFRED, commissioner of Major League Baseball, commenting on league investigators’ finding that the likely playoff-bound Boston Red Sox used an Apple Watch while stealing pitching signs from the New York Yankees

‘YOUR NEIGHBOR IS STILL YOUR NEIGHBOR REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED.’

UHURU KENYATTA, Kenyan President, calling for citizens to remain peaceful and not take up arms after the Kenyan Supreme Court declared his re-election invalid and scheduled a new vote for Oct. 17

‘I’M NOT HIS GROOM.’

VLADIMIR PUTIN, Russian President, refusing to answer a question about President Trump at a Sept. 5 press conference

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; LOS ANGELES TIMES; NEW YORK TIMES; VANITY FAIR

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The Brief

'INDIA, UNLIKE CHINA, IS STILL A COUNTRY WHERE COURTS SOMETIMES SAY NO TO THE GOVERNMENT.' —PAGE 17

South Korean ambassador Cho Tae-yul, center, with U.S. ambassador Nikki Haley, right, at the U.N. on Sept. 4

GETTY IMAGES

WORLD

Kim Jong Un isn't the only wild card in the North Korea crisis

By Philip Elliott

ON THE MORNING OF SEPT. 3, America's top military, intelligence and diplomatic officials were summoned to present Donald Trump with their assessment of the mounting crisis on the Korean Peninsula. Events were moving fast. Over the course of the previous week, North Korea's ruler Kim Jong Un had launched a missile on a 1,700-mile flight over Japan and publicly displayed what he claimed was a hydrogen bomb that could be placed atop an intercontinental ballistic missile. Then, the North announced that it had tested its largest nuclear device to date, a weapon whose power unleashed shock waves measuring 6.3 on the Richter scale. That Kim had the means to annihilate an American city—something U.S. Administrations had worked for more than 20 years to prevent—seemed no longer a specter but a reality.

And yet two hours before Trump got his full download from the brass, he launched a rhetorical attack against … America's most vulnerable ally in the region, South Korea. "South Korea is finding, as I have told them, that their talk of appeasement with North Korea will not work, they only understand one thing!" Trump tweeted just before 8 a.m. Meanwhile, senior officials were already in contact with the anxious staff members of the South's President, Moon Jae-in, to arrange a call between the leaders. Their conversation, on Sept. 4, greenlighted billions of dollars more in military aid from the U.S. as well as boosted South Korea's defense capabilities. One U.S. official said the tweet had little impact because

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHANIE KEITH

governments have learned not to take Trump's tweets at face value.

In fact, that is precisely the problem, and one without precedent. Americans may have become inured to Trump's rhetorical attacks on political enemies and allies. But in the dangerous world of nuclear deterrence, where it might take just 30 minutes for a nuclear-tipped missile to reach the West Coast from North Korea, the stakes are very different. Trump has traded in his reality show for policy decisions that could mean life or death for hundreds of thousands of people. Some Korea experts say that at this point, the best outcome of the crisis may be to find a way to live with a nuclear North Korea. But even getting to that undesirable standoff would require clarity and unity with allies, and Trump's murky goals and message are little comfort. "We will not be putting up with what's happening in North Korea," Trump said on Sept. 6.

The dangerous uncertainty is not all on Trump. U.S. intelligence has long been unclear about both the capabilities and intentions of Pyongyang. Few expected Kim to gain the ability to target mainland American cities with powerful, missile-delivered nukes so soon. And while most analysts see the North Korean regime's pursuit of nuclear weapons as a means to preserve power and ward off threats, no one knows how reckless the 33-year-old leader may be, especially if he feels backed into a corner. Trump's ad lib diplomacy may be partly in response to that dearth of good information. During meetings with his war Cabinet in the White House basement during his first seven months in power, Trump routinely excoriated advisers about why they didn't know more, pointing to the money that U.S. intelligence services had spent in providing incomplete information, say Administration officials.

But Trump's freelancing isn't helping. Top aides say they have little sense of what the boss wants to see from them or from partners such as China and South Korea. The Sept. 3 tweet caught U.S. officials, who were up all night sifting through intelligence reports and policy options, by surprise. "They have no strategy at the moment," says one top adviser to Republican leadership on Capitol Hill.

Trump's nominal allies in the Administration and on Capitol Hill are trying to turn the message to friends and foes abroad in the direction of stricter economic sanctions, a bolstered military deterrent and diplomatic leverage to force Kim to slow his rush to nuclear-power status. Whether Trump will heed their advice and whether Kim will take into account the quirks of American foreign policy at this particular moment are open questions. With nukes now potentially targeting the U.S., the stakes in the fight over clarity and unity of message could not be higher. —*With reporting by* CHARLIE CAMPBELL/BEIJING *and* ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON ◻

TICKER

Hurricane Irma touches down

Hurricane Irma made landfall on the tiny Caribbean island of Barbuda as a Category 5 storm on Sept. 6, the most powerful one in the region in over a decade. The storm was heading toward Puerto Rico and Florida as TIME went to press.

White Christians decline in U.S.

White Christians are no longer a majority in the U.S., according to a new study by the Public Religion Research Institute. The PRRI found that only 43% of Americans identify as white and Christian, down from 81% in 1976. White evangelical Protestants led the decline.

Mag fined over topless royal pics

Photographers and executives from French magazine *Closer* were fined over topless photos of Kate Middleton that were printed in 2012. Prince William and the Duchess of Cambridge were each awarded $60,000 in damages for invasion of privacy.

Plastic found in most tap water

The majority of tap water contains plastic pollutants, according to an Orb Media study, which found synthetic fibers in 83% of 159 drinking-water samples from around the world. Scientists are unsure of the health implications.

MILITARY

Russia's rehearsal for world war

As many as 100,000 troops are expected to take part in the Zapad drills, Russia's premier military exercises, from Sept. 14 to Sept. 20. These war games, usually held every four years along the borders of E.U. and NATO countries, seek to send a message to the world: that the Russian military is once again a force to be feared. —*Simon Shuster*

THE WAR GAMES

Moscow claims Zapad will be much smaller: only about 13,000 personnel in total, including 7,200 from ally Belarus as well as roughly 70 aircraft, 250 tanks, 200 artillery systems and 10 naval ships. Yet European defense officials anticipate many more troops to be involved. Among other drills, Zapad typically includes a simulated nuclear strike against a European nation. In 2009 the hypothetical target was Poland; in '13 it was Sweden.

THE NEIGHBORS

This is the first Zapad since Russia's invasion of Crimea in 2014, and Eastern Europe is on edge. Poland warned that the drills could be used as cover for an invasion, and Lithuania is building a fence. NATO drills in July involved about 25,000 troops, but the alliance said it did not increase its military presence in reaction to Zapad.

THE STRATEGY

Russia has the world's second most powerful military, but it is still an underdog compared with that of the U.S. In keeping with Russia's broader military strategy, however, its goal during the Zapad drills is to project more power than its armed forces can actually muster. Judging by the level of alarm in Europe, the intimidation approach appears to be working.

DIGITS

25,000

Number of avocados used to make the world's largest-ever serving of guacamole, which weighed in at 3 tons; avocado growers in Mexico made the enormous dip on Sept. 4 to highlight the benefits of NAFTA as President Trump considers pulling the U.S. out of the trade pact

L.A. HEAT A wildfire rages in the hills above Burbank, Calif., on Sept. 2. The blaze, which started a day earlier in La Tuna Canyon, engulfed more than 7,000 acres over the Labor Day weekend. About 1,000 firefighters tackled the wildfire, which destroyed four homes and led to hundreds of evacuations. It was largely contained on Sept. 5, but authorities warned that increasing winds might fuel a resurgence. *Photograph by Kyle Grillot—Reuters*

SPOTLIGHT

New Zealand's rising star puts election in play

THE LEADER OF NEW ZEALAND'S OPPOSITION center-left Labour Party, Jacinda Ardern, has come from far behind to rival Prime Minister Bill English in polls ahead of the Sept. 23 general election. Since becoming leader on Aug. 1, Ardern has helped pull the party's projected share of the vote from 26% to a 10-year high of 43%. Here's more:

RURAL ROOTS The police officer's daughter, 37, says her working-class background has informed her politics: she grew up in a rural community on the country's North Island and worked in a fish-and-chips shop to save for college. But her rise has been swift; before being elected to parliament in 2008, she advised Helen Clark, New Zealand's first elected female Prime Minister.

YOUTH APPEAL Ardern galvanized female voters days after becoming the Labour Party leader when she rebuked a broadcaster for suggesting she might take maternity leave if elected. She has since fired up the youth vote by promising free higher education and legalized medical marijuana. Her age, liberal policies and overnight rise have led some to compare her to Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

REALITY CHECK Critics say Ardern is a flash in the pan who lacks political experience. Labour faces an incumbent National Party that has been in power since 2008 and is credited for growing New Zealand's robust economy. Even so, an election that was called by English to capitalize on Labour's struggles in the polls is now looking like a nail-biter: an Aug. 31 poll put Ardern's party ahead by 2 points. —TARA JOHN

If elected on Sept. 23, Ardern will become New Zealand's youngest leader since 1856

AVOCADOS: GETTY IMAGES. ARDERN: PHIL WALTER—GETTY IMAGES

DATA

OVERSIZE AMERICANS

One in 3 Americans has a body mass index of 30 or higher, according to the 2016 State of Obesity report released on Aug. 31, but rates are leveling off. Here are the five states with the highest obesity rates:

37.7%
West Virginia
+2.1% vs. 2015

37.7%
Alabama
+0.1%

35.7%
Arkansas
+1.2%

35.3%
Mississippi
+1.7%

35.5%
Louisiana
–0.7%

TICKER

Trial of U.S. Senator begins

Senator Bob Menendez of New Jersey went on trial in federal court on 12 corruption-related counts concerning his links to a wealthy benefactor. If the Democrat is convicted, the state's Republican governor, Chris Christie, will choose a replacement.

Graft charges for Brazil's ex-leaders

Brazil's ex-Presidents Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff were charged with forming a criminal organization to divert funds from entities including state oil company Petrobras. These are the first corruption charges leveled at Rousseff, who was impeached in 2016. Both deny the allegations.

Utah hospital tells police to back off

The University of Utah Hospital placed new restrictions on police officers, barring them from entering patient-care areas, after a nurse was manhandled and arrested when she refused to let an officer take blood from an unconscious patient.

N.C. candidate: Vote for me, I'm white

A mayoral candidate in Charlotte, N.C., was condemned for touting her race as an asset. Kimberley Barnette apologized for describing herself as "Republican & smart, white" on Facebook.

Q&A

A U.S. commander's year on the front line against ISIS in Iraq and Syria

By Jared Malsin

SINCE AUGUST 2016, LIEUT. GENERAL Stephen Townsend had commanded Operation Inherent Resolve, the U.S.-led military coalition fighting the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. It was a key year in the operation to "degrade and destroy" ISIS, at the center of which was the liberation by the Iraqi military of Mosul, Iraq's second city, from the militant group. Townsend, a 35-year veteran of conflicts around the world, rotated out on Sept. 5. Here he reflects on his 12 months at the helm of the coalition:

What can you say about the intensity of the battle for Mosul? First of all, it was the longest battle I personally have been a participant in or borne witness to in my entire military career. It was the most constant heavy combat that we have [seen] probably since before Vietnam. I can't say that I was surprised at the difficulty, though I did expect to see more surrenders than we saw. These last [ISIS] holdouts, they literally fought to the death. That was a bit of an eye-opener for me.

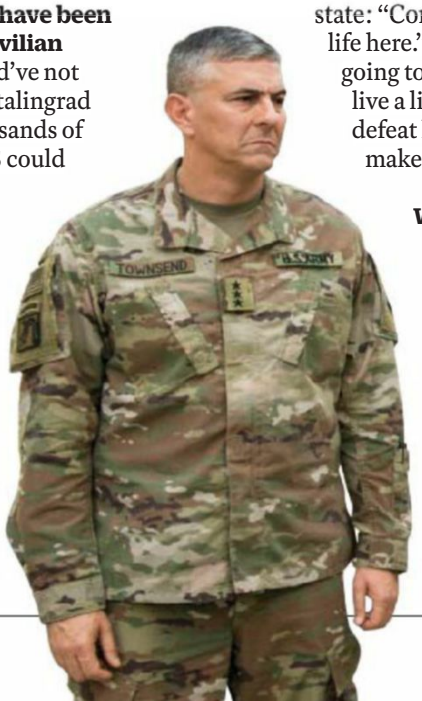
The heavy civilian casualties in Mosul received a lot of attention. Is there anything that could have been done to save more civilian lives? Yeah. ISIS could've not turned Mosul into a Stalingrad by taking tens of thousands of civilians hostage. ISIS could have let civilians flee when they wanted to flee. ISIS didn't have to pack them into houses and pack explosives on top of them. Those are the things that could've been done to lessen civilian losses. I don't find that the coalition or our Iraqi partners could have done much more.

In April, President Trump gave the military "total authorization" over combat decisions. Has that impacted this operation? We have the authority we need, and we are well supported by our military and our civilian chain of command. That's what the American people want. They trust our armed forces. Give them a job to do, give them the tools to do it, and then get out of the way and let them do it. I can't say that any increases in authority have caused us to change the way we do business significantly, but it has freed us up a bit to prosecute the war in a more aggressive manner, I think.

Is victory even possible against ISIS, given its persistence and mutability? I absolutely believe that victory is possible in Iraq and Syria. We have already taken steps toward destroying the physical caliphate by taking away Mosul, the largest population center they held anywhere in the world. We have their self-proclaimed global capital in Raqqa, Syria, under assault. They're gaining no ground in this region of the world. Yes, they have a significant presence on the Internet, and they'll continue to be there. They will try to raise franchises in other parts of the world. But I think we have to defeat their idea, and a lot of their narrative is tied to the physical state: "Come to the caliphate. It's a blissful life here." Well, you come here and you're going to get killed. You're just going to live a life of misery until you die. Their defeat here is the largest blow we could make to their narrative.

> '[Mosul] was the longest battle I personally have ... borne witness to in my entire military career.'

Where is ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi? Is he alive? It always baffles me that you guys want to know where Baghdadi is. I wouldn't tell you if I did know, and if I did know he'd be dead. If I knew where he was, there'd be a B-1 bomber heading there right now, or coalition troopers. I don't have a clue where he is. □



BRIGITTE BRANTLEY—U.S. AIR FORCE/EPA

Lieut. General Stephen Townsend oversaw the anti-ISIS operation

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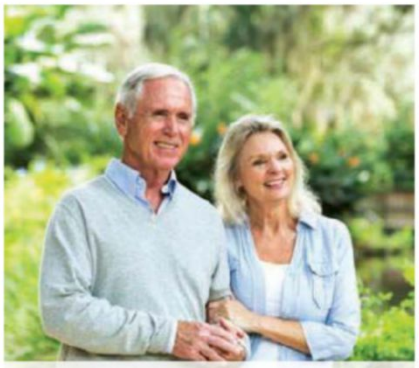

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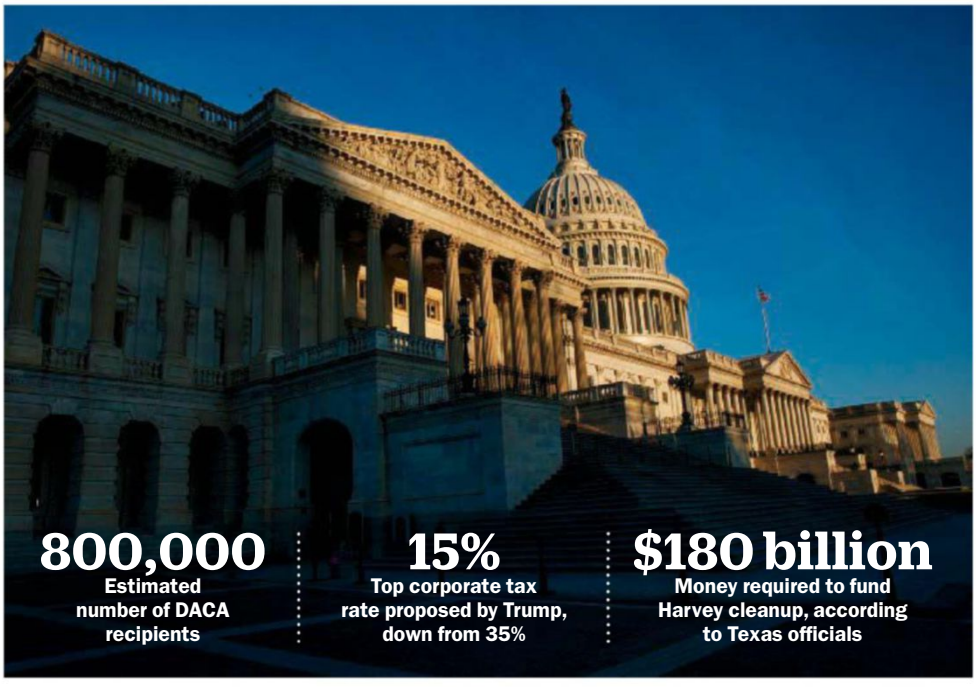

POLITICS

Congress confronts a daunting to-do list

By Nash Jenkins

FACED WITH A PACKED LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR AND LOOMING DEADLINES, President Trump cut a deal with congressional Democrats on Sept. 6 to temporarily fund the government and lift the U.S. debt limit, while providing a down payment for disaster relief. Here's a look at what lawmakers still have to do this fall:

KEEP THE LIGHTS ON

Reached over the objections of Republican leaders and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, the deal puts off two fiscal showdowns until December: approving spending to keep the government running and increasing the nation's borrowing authority. Conservative lawmakers may balk at a debt-limit hike that doesn't include offsetting spending cuts.

HELP HURRICANE VICTIMS

The devastating storm in Houston was rapidly draining FEMA's coffers even before Hurricane Irma spiraled toward the East Coast. The House quickly passed a $7.9 billion package to assist with recovery efforts. But the Trump Administration is still calculating how much more will be needed, and here, too, conservatives may object to the hefty price tag unless the package is paired with reductions.

DO ANNUAL HOUSEKEEPING

Several programs still require congressional attention by the end of the month. The Children's Health Insurance Program needs funding. The National Flood Insurance Program must be renewed. And the Federal Aviation Administration requires reauthorization.

TACKLE THE TRUMP AGENDA

Having dropped his insistence on funding for a border wall, Trump's end-of-year wish list is now topped by a tax-reform package, though lawmakers and the Administration are still haggling over details. In the meantime, Trump has dropped another complicated project on legislators: reaching a deal to replace the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program for immigrants brought to the U.S. illegally as children. Trump moved to end DACA on Sept. 5 and gave Congress six months to find a solution.

Milestones

DIED

Eminent American poet **John Ashbery,** who in 1976 won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry, the National Book Award and the National Book Critics Circle Award for his collection *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror,* at 90.

› **Walter Becker,** co-founder and guitarist of the influential rock duo Steely Dan, best known for singles "Do It Again" and "Deacon Blues," at 67.

› Actor **Richard Anderson,** who co-starred simultaneously in 1970s television shows *The Six Million Dollar Man* and *The Bionic Woman,* at 91.

BORN

A **baby girl, to the 23-time Grand Slam winner Serena Williams** and her partner Alexis Ohanian. Williams revealed she was having a baby over social media in April, months after winning the Australian Open title while pregnant.

RESIGNED

Milwaukee Sheriff David Clarke, known for his provocative rhetoric on liberal groups like Black Lives Matter, which he accused of trying to destroy America. Clark quit the police to join pro-Trump political action committee America First Action.

FIRED

Transgender model **Munroe Bergdorf,** from a L'Oréal campaign, after writing a Facebook post about the complicity of white people in racism following events in Charlottesville, Va.

COMPLETED

A $130 billion merger between **Dow Chemical and DuPont,** which debuted on the New York Stock Exchange as DowDuPon on Sept. 1.

POLITICS: ZACH GIBSON—GETTY IMAGES; ASHBERY: GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

India's youth and liberty are looking less like advantages over China

By Ian Bremmer

IT'S BECOME FASHIONABLE TO VIEW INDIA, NOT CHINA, as the world's true emerging-market powerhouse. India's demographics and the political resilience that comes with a decentralized democracy can seem like key advantages over China's fast-aging, authoritarian society. Yet India's surging youth population may soon become a weakness rather than a strength, and there are ways in which India's government may be becoming much more like China's.

India's demographic makeup is often seen as a crucial advantage; half its citizens are under age 25, and 65% are under 35. That's a lot of potentially productive people ready to lift India's economy higher. By contrast, China's population is aging faster than any other in the world. In 1980, China's median age was 21.9 years. A recent U.N. study estimated that by 2050 it will be 48. That will leave fewer workers to produce the wealth needed to care for the fast-growing population of elderly Chinese.

> India's surging youth population may soon become a weakness rather than a strength

Yet changing technologies may be about to reverse this demographic logic. The world is only just beginning to feel the impact of automation and artificial intelligence in the workplace. A World Bank study published in 2016 found that these trends leave 69% of all existing jobs in India and 77% of existing jobs in China "threatened." It's possible that these trends will create more jobs than they eliminate. But it will not be easy to retrain today's worker to fill tomorrow's more technologically complex job, and the resulting labor-market upheaval will be a likely source of severe social unrest. China will face an enormous challenge in managing this change, but its elderly population may relieve some of the pressure on jobs and wages. India is in a more difficult spot. There are already too few jobs for the 1 million Indians who enter the workforce for the first time each month. Over time, India's youthful population may look less like an asset than a liability.

INDIA'S HEALTHY DEMOCRACY is another purported advantage over China's centralized state. Champions of the value and virtues of democracy argue that autocracies will always be fragile because they offer no safe outlet for public frustration, they stifle innovations that threaten elite privileges and they suppress the free thinking needed for ingenuity. In that sense, India's political structure should be considered an important asset. But it bears watching. In 2009 the Indian government, then led by the Congress Party, enabled the creation of Aadhaar, a biometric identification system designed to provide Indians with better access to public services. In 2010 the program began recording iris scans and fingerprints to establish each person's unique identity. More than 1 billion people are now listed in the database. When the program is completed, everyone will receive his or her own benefits, subsidy fraud will theoretically become much more difficult, the government can collect more taxes and waste less money, and all can have confidence in their access to services.

The government says the program is intended to connect India's vast population with modern services while using security tools to eliminate waste, fraud and corruption. But Aadhaar offers state officials a central digital registry that provides personal information and data on every citizen. The risk that this will be used for political purposes is too obvious to ignore. Already the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi has used Aadhaar to ensure that kids enroll in school, workers show up for work and citizens pay their taxes. Though the program is technically voluntary, a citizen today who wants to buy a train ticket must be registered in Aadhaar's central database.

But there's another important difference between India and China. In August, India's Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Indians have a fundamental right to privacy. That could protect citizens from the potential abuse of data under the Aadhaar system. It's a reminder that India, unlike China, is still a country where courts sometimes say no to the government. □

India's tech sector may not have enough jobs for the country's booming youth population

SAJJAD HUSSAIN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

MYANMAR

The exodus of the Rohingya resumes as Suu Kyi stands by

IT HAS BECOME A FAMILIAR SCENE. In this image by photojournalist William Daniels, a trail of civilians crosses the Myanmar border seeking sanctuary on the muddy banks of Bangladesh. Even more misery lies ahead for these Rohingya refugees as they reach bloated displacement camps that cannot house them all. Home is no longer an option.

The Rohingya are a Muslim minority that has suffered decades of persecution in western Myanmar, where most people are Buddhist. Last year an attack on state security forces by Rohingya insurgents triggered a scorched-earth counterterrorism campaign by the military that sent some 74,000 fleeing across the border amid accounts of rape, torture and indiscriminate killings. On Aug. 25, the insurgents struck again, and the military's response was no more measured. Nearly 125,000 have since fled Myanmar, according to the U.N., joining some 400,000 others who left in recent decades.

Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel laureate who resisted the country's military dictatorship for decades before becoming Myanmar's de facto leader in 2015, refuses to stem or even condemn the abuse. On Sept. 5, she said tensions were being driven by "misinformation." Her reticence in the face of a crisis likened to a campaign of ethnic cleansing has been heavily criticized by human-rights groups. "It's going to get worse," says Daniels. "This is the beginning of something very bad." —FELIZ SOLOMON

Members of Myanmar's Rohingya minority walk through paddies after crossing into Bangladesh

PHOTOGRAPH BY WILLIAM DANIELS—PANOS

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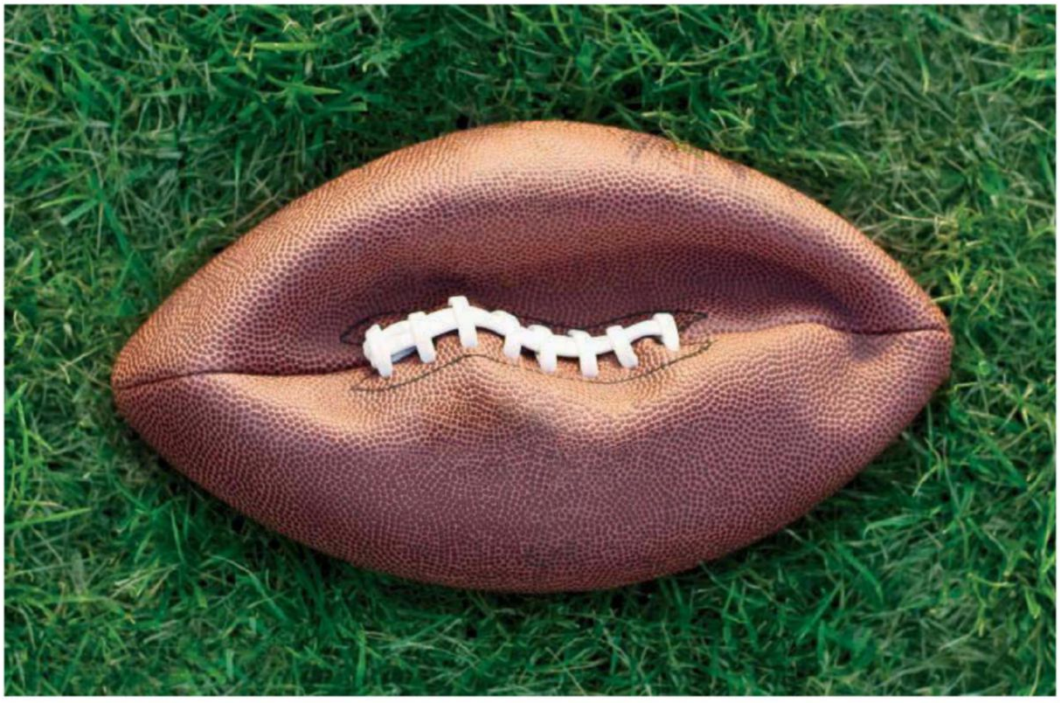
The View

'EVERY NATION IN THE AMERICAS HAS AN INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN VENEZUELA.' —PAGE 35



A new NFL season has come with new controversy for the powerful sports league

GETTY IMAGES

SPORTS

Boycotts and brain damage cast a dark shadow over football season

By Sean Gregory

MINDY REED HAS BEEN IN LOVE with the NFL for more than 50 years. As a kid in Connecticut, she wore a Bart Starr jersey and bonded over the game with her dad. Fandom helped Reed break into the old-boys' club as she climbed the corporate ladder at Dell and connect with football-mad Texans when she switched careers and became a librarian in Austin. Now she's giving it all up.

Reed, 61, has decided to boycott the NFL because no team has offered a job to Colin Kaepernick, the quarterback whose protest of police brutality during the national anthem last season ignited a cultural firestorm. Reed, who is white, says police have pulled over her husband for "driving while black," and tuning out the NFL is a way to show solidarity. She has plenty of company. Kaepernick's supporters range from the active players who have continued his protest and celebrities like Spike Lee to the 175,000-plus signatories of a petition on Change.org called #NoKaepernickNoNFL.

Critics too are emboldened. After several Cleveland Browns players knelt during the anthem before an August preseason game, the police and paramedic unions planned to withdraw from a pregame flag ceremony.

For the NFL, the simmering conflict is one of many dark clouds looming over the start of the season. September has long been when America's real national pastime reasserts its grasp. Yet rather than fighting over fantasy teams or marveling at Tom Brady's longevity, fans in the run-up to this season have been consumed by soberer topics. Be it

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVEN PUETZER

the Kaepernick debate, violence against women or the nature of the game itself, a growing number of Americans are becoming fed up with football.

The most important NFL news this summer was not a big free-agent signing but a study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in July. Researchers examined the brains of 111 deceased NFL players and diagnosed 110 of them, or 99%, with the degenerative brain disease CTE. The study, said author Dr. Jesse Mez, "suggests, with a lot of caveats, that this is probably not a rare disease—at least among those who are exposed to a lot of football."

Two days after the findings were released, Baltimore Ravens offensive lineman John Urschel, who's studying for a Ph.D. in mathematics at MIT, abruptly announced his retirement. His decision was reportedly linked to the study. Urschel is one of several NFL players who have retired in their prime rather than increase their chances of developing serious brain injuries. These concerns are trickling down to the youth level: some 23,000 fewer students played high school football last season than in 2015, and schools and peewee programs are dropping their teams for lack of interest.

Alleged violence of a different sort defined another off-season story. On Sept. 5 an arbitrator upheld the NFL's six-game suspension of Ezekiel Elliott, the young Dallas Cowboys star who led the NFL in rushing last season, for violating the league's personal-conduct policy after an ex-girlfriend accused him of domestic violence. Officials in Columbus, Ohio, declined to pursue charges, and Elliott has denied the allegations.

Then there is the matter of Kaepernick, whose absence from the game may well be more significant than his presence. He is no longer the player he was in 2013, when he led San Francisco to a Super Bowl berth, but he did throw 16 touchdowns last season against just four interceptions. Yet since March, NFL teams have signed 20 new free-agent quarterbacks who have never completed a pass in the regular season. Ravens owner Steve Bisciotti admitted it was about more than talent when the team considered signing Kaepernick, and he asked fans to weigh in. Former Ravens linebacker Ray Lewis—who pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice in a double-murder case but didn't lose his NFL livelihood—said Baltimore passed on Kaepernick because his girlfriend posted a racially charged tweet. This, when NFL teams have signed players who have been convicted of domestic violence, illegal gun possession and DUI manslaughter.

Last year the NFL's once reliable regular-season TV ratings dipped by 9%. They could fall again if more people like Reed turn away. "Who knows what I might discover out there," Reed says of life without the NFL. "I certainly know how to read a book." ◻

VERBATIM

'Right now, the benefits of tech are too lopsided to certain states.'

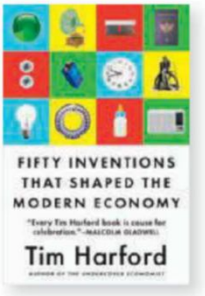
TIM COOK, Apple CEO, on why the tech firm is offering its app-creation curriculum—a yearlong course that teaches students how to build an app from scratch—to community colleges in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Alabama and more

MARK SAGLIOCCO—FILMMAGIC/GETTY IMAGES

BOOK IN BRIEF

History's best overlooked inventions

WHEN IT COMES TO INVENTIONS THAT changed the world, most history books cite the usual suspects—including clocks, paper and the lightbulb. But Tim Harford's *Fifty Inventions That Shaped the Modern Economy* shines a spotlight on objects of less renown. Take barbed wire, which allowed settlers to delineate (and therefore cultivate) property on the American prairie in a way that would have been cost-prohibitive with wooden fencing. Or the replaceable razor blade, which introduced the two-part pricing model—pay now for the razor and later for more blades—that was eventually used with printers and ink cartridges, espresso machines and coffee pods, and more. Or Ikea's Billy bookcase, which helped bridge the gap between "cheap to produce" and "aesthetically acceptable." The Billy, Harford explains, "is a symbol of how innovation in the modern economy isn't just about snazzy new technologies, but also boringly efficient systems." —SARAH BEGLEY



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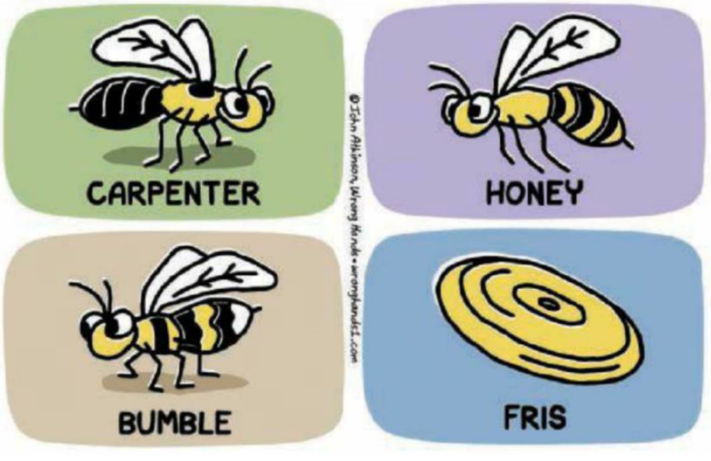

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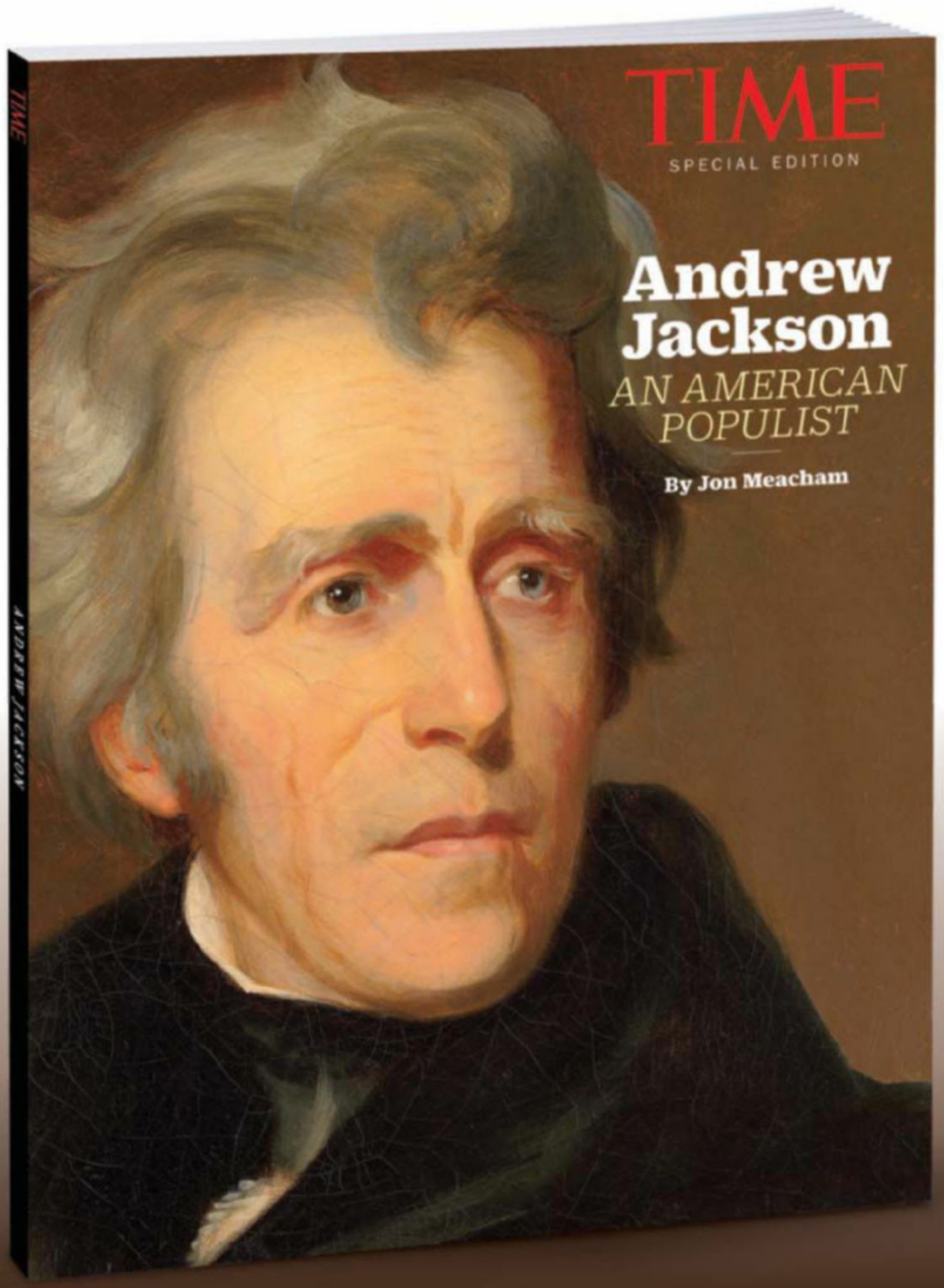
THE RISE OF AN AMERICAN HERO

Remember the lasting political influence of Andrew Jackson in this Special Edition from *TIME*



Though of humble beginnings, Andrew Jackson would become one of the nation's most influential and controversial Presidents: A heroic general, a skilled tactician, and one of the true architects of American Populism.

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BIG IDEA

A parking garage for bikes

In Utrecht, the Netherlands, more than 125,000 cyclists bike through the city center daily, far more than the bike racks can handle. The solution: a garage that treats bikes like cars. There are similar structures in other cities, but Utrecht's Stationsplein Bicycle Parking complex—located under the city's main transit hub—is more ambitious. There are digital signs that direct cyclists to spots as well as a 24-hour free-parking period. Once construction is complete next year, there will be space for 12,500 bikes, making Stationsplein the biggest garage of its kind. —*Julia Zorthian*

SEM VAN DER WAL—EPA

HISTORY

Why fraternities and sororities have houses

IN RECENT YEARS, FRATERNITIES AND sororities have become synonymous with partying, often to extremes: reports of binge drinking and sexual assault have led some schools, including Harvard and Penn State, to discuss banning Greek life altogether. Yet in their early days, fraternities and sororities served a more practical purpose.

At issue was a housing crunch. In the 19th century, as universities expanded their offerings, there wasn't enough living space for the influx of new students, says Nicholas L. Syrett, author of *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities*. The first frat houses, like the one built in 1876 at the University of California, Berkeley, offered a fix. By allowing students to live in those spaces, colleges could enroll more students without investing in housing. Syrett found that 774 such houses existed by 1920.

The houses kept students sheltered figuratively too. When women arrived in larger numbers on campuses in the late 1800s, the earliest sororities—like Kappa Alpha Theta, founded at what's now DePauw University in 1870—allowed them to follow Victorian social mores by living apart from men.

Over time, various issues became apparent: the houses were a way for students to separate themselves, and in practice that often meant that wealthy white Protestant students got exclusive accommodations. In some cases, students excluded from these societies formed groups of their own.

These days students are drawn to Greek life for a variety of reasons. But the houses themselves aren't exactly the problem solvers they promised to be. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

STIFLING THE URGE TO YAWN MIGHT MAKE IT WORSE

A study in *Current Biology* found that after watching people yawn, participants who were instructed to resist doing the same had a greater urge to yawn than those who were allowed to yawn freely—and the two groups ended up yawning the same amount anyway.

2

COFFEE CAN HELP YOU LIVE LONGER

A study presented at the European Society of Cardiology congress in Spain found that adults who drank four or more cups of coffee per day had a 64% lower risk of dying during the 10-year follow-up, compared with those who rarely or never drank coffee.

3

MEDITATING MIGHT HELP HEAVY DRINKERS CUT BACK

A study in the *International Journal of Neuropsychopharmacology* showed that heavy drinkers had an average of 9.3 fewer units of alcohol (about three pints of beer) a week after having one 11-minute session of mindfulness training and being encouraged to continue the techniques on their own.

—*J.Z.*

AWARD SHOWS

As television expands, the Emmys are becoming a battlefield

By Daniel D'Addario

WHEN THE DUST SETTLES AFTER THIS year's Emmys (airing on Sept. 17 on CBS), what will the story be? After two years of dominating the Best Drama field, *Game of Thrones,* the most popular and talked-about show in the world, is out of the running. (Its seventh season debuted after the eligibility period ended.) That means a one-year reprieve from the fire-breathing melodrama, with the guarantee that this year's top honoree will be a first-time winner.

It might be that the influx of new voices and new energy have made the Emmys compelling proof of just how much, and how rapidly, the landscape of TV is evolving. Five of the seven nominees for Best Drama—NBC's *This Is Us,* Netflix's *The Crown* and *Stranger Things,* Hulu's *The Handmaid's Tale* and HBO's *Westworld*—are being honored for their first seasons.

Or maybe the story of this year's Emmys is the showdown between new and old methods of watching TV. Among *The Crown, House of Cards* and *Stranger Things*—three very different shows—Netflix has three nominations in the Best Drama category, a feat that hasn't been accomplished since NBC did so in 2001, at the height of its "must-see TV" power. NBC may not be what it was when *The West Wing* was winning year after year, but it can still pull off a coup: *This Is Us* is the first broadcast-network show nominated for Best Drama since *The Good Wife* in 2011. The family drama, a widely admired hit that summons whatever's left of the monoculture, is up against streaming series like *The Handmaid's Tale* and Netflix's trio of shows, which are designed to appeal to impassioned niche viewership. The past 10 years of winners in this category have been cable series, but the time seems apt for a change. A win by either *This Is Us,* which would be the first broadcast show to win since *24* in 2006, or one of the four nominated streaming shows, which would be the first winner of its kind ever, would make history. More significantly, it would embolden either the networks or the streaming services.

Whatever happens will still take place in the shadow of *Thrones,* absent as it is. Shows with surreal, sci-fi elements, like *Lost,* have triumphed before. But the dominance of *Thrones* has helped make all kinds of winners from far outside of what looks like conventional awards bait seem possible. *Westworld* features a cast of androids learning how to rebel against their human masters. *Stranger Things* sends cute kids on a quest into another dimension. Even *The Handmaid's Tale* takes place in a dystopian near future. Elsewhere, *Atlanta,* the glimmeringly strange FX series, could take the Best Comedy prize away from the more earth-bound *Veep,* and an episode of sci-fi anthology *Black Mirror* is a likely shot for Best Television Movie. TV is getting odder and more rooted in the genre elements to which fans respond, and the Emmys are following suit.

THE MOST EXCITING STORY of the night, though, pertains to roughly half of the viewing audience. Nominees from *The Handmaid's Tale* and *The Crown* to Best Limited Series nominees *Fargo, Feud* and (especially) *Big Little Lies* are about the inner lives of women who react to and rebel against the men who so often hold them in place. Various acting categories—like Best Actress in a Limited Series, featuring, among others, Nicole Kidman and Reese Witherspoon from *Big Little Lies* and Jessica Lange and Susan Sarandon from *Feud*—feel vastly richer than those of their male counterparts. Even *Veep*'s Julia Louis-Dreyfus, the winningest lead actress in Emmys history, doesn't feel like a lock, facing down robust competition like *black-ish*'s Tracee Ellis Ross and *Better Things*' Pamela Adlon. Strong, complicated women feel less like a demographic that Hollywood's trying to appeal to with a few token representations and more like the creative force behind the best of TV.

That's the thing about TV in 2017—there's so much of it that even an attempt to winnow it to a limited number of the very best is futile. In any case, when the Emmys are over, we'll all go back to watching whatever is in our DVR or streaming queue. The awards narrative will be set and then forgotten, but the story of the astounding volume of TV available will keep unfolding. ◻

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Are these 'healthy' foods really good for you?

TIME asked nutrition experts to give us the skinny on the health world's latest food fads. Here's what they said.

HYDROGEN WATER

So-called hydrogen water—water into which hydrogen gas is dissolved—has become increasingly popular in recent years, with a handful of companies (including one created by physician personality Dr. Nicholas Perricone) selling bottles, tablets you can dissolve into water and even machines to boost water's hydrogen content. Some claim that adding more hydrogen increases energy, improves workout recovery and reduces inflammation.

But the science behind those claims is weak, backed only by a few encouraging studies in rats and mice and even fewer—and smaller—trials in people. "We don't know anything about dosing or the frequency you need to drink hydrogen water to get health benefits," says Robin Foroutan, a spokeswoman for the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics.

Moreover, the amount of hydrogen in water products varies widely, and there is no regulation to standardize formulas. For now experts say that while drinking hydrogen water probably isn't risky, the benefits, if any, are also unknown. —*Alice Park*

PROTEIN POWDER

There is a variety of protein powders—whey, hemp, soy, pea and more—that you can add to foods that don't otherwise have the nutrient in high quantities, like smoothies and shakes. Powders can aid muscle recovery after exercise and help you feel fuller—and stay that way longer.

But in the ways that count most, protein powder is not necessarily an adequate substitute for the real thing. Protein is important for muscle, bone and skin health, and it can provide the nine essential amino acids that the human body doesn't make by itself. While some protein powders contain the full amino-acid profile, many fall short. In general, animal-based protein powders—like whey, casein or egg-white protein—are more complete than non-animal-based ones.

Additionally, eating a high-protein food can provide other nutrients a person might need. For example, eggs contain protein as well as healthy fat and vitamin D. "When you eat protein from whole foods, you get extra nutrients and fiber that contribute to a healthy diet," says Nancy Rodriguez, professor of nutritional sciences at the University of Connecticut, Storrs.

—Alexandra Sifferlin

LOW-CALORIE ICE CREAM

Halo Top's low-calorie, high-protein ice cream recently became the best-selling pint in the U.S., in part by billing itself as a healthier alternative to the likes of Häagen-Dazs and Ben & Jerry's.

That's technically true, especially for calorie counters. But nutritionists warn that such low-calorie counts typically derive from artificial and zero-calorie sweeteners, which don't appear to help people lose weight, according to a July report in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal.*

As for the added protein, unless you're following a high-protein regimen, the little extra you get in ice cream could just as easily be gotten in foods like chicken and quinoa. Federal data shows that American adults consume about 15% of their daily calories from protein—well within the recommended amount.

That said, if you're choosing to indulge, you could do a lot worse than Halo Top. "As far as the ingredients go, there's nothing there that I would question as a red flag," says Keri Gans, a registered dietitian in New York City. —*A.S.*

NON-PASTA PASTA

Pasta made from brown rice, quinoa, lentils, chickpeas and more, rather than flour, are all the rage. In some ways, yes, dried pasta made from chickpeas, lentils or black beans have more protein and fiber than regular pasta. That's because beans are naturally high in those nutrients.

But don't be fooled by pasta with a vegetable in its name, like spinach- or tomato-based noodles. Depending on the brand, spinach pasta may be regular pasta with a bit of powdered spinach added. This marketing is "basically fun and games with pasta," says Keith Ayoob, associate professor of pediatrics at Albert Einstein College of Medicine. Even companies that say their pasta contains "a full serving of veggies," he adds, aren't offering a viable substitute for actual greens.

The healthfulness of any type of pasta, regular or alternative, depends largely on what you serve with or on it. All noodles can be healthy if topped with vegetables rather than Alfredo sauce and limited to reasonable portions. —*A.S.*

WHOLESOME SNACK BARS

Granola bars have long been a staple in the health-food aisle, despite the fact that many contain just as much sugar as a candy bar.

That said, there's been an influx of legitimately healthy snack-bar options in recent years; to pick one, you just have to read the ingredients closely. Dietitian Andy Bellatti recommends looking for bars that rely on sweetness from foods like dates and coconut rather than table sugars (see: brands like RXBAR and Lärabar). That way, he explains, "you are getting nutrition and fiber, without added sugar." But if you're looking for a midday snack, a handful of almonds or an apple can often do the trick for fewer calories. —*A.S.*

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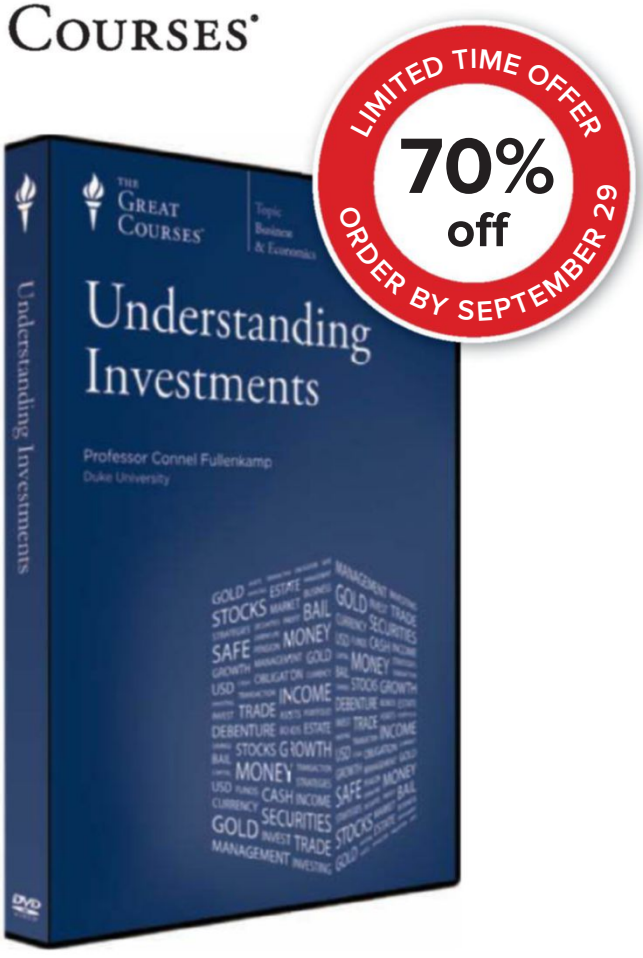

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THE AMERICAS

It's time to plan for civil war in Venezuela

By Admiral James Stavridis

AN ENORMOUS CRISIS IS BREWING JUST a few hundred miles south of Miami: Venezuela, a nation of more than 30 million people, with the largest oil reserves in the world, is on the brink of collapse and civil war. The implications for the Americas are profound and dangerous. What should the U.S. be doing while Caracas sinks into anarchy?

The crisis can be traced to the 1998 election of Hugo Chávez to the presidency. A self-proclaimed socialist in the vein of Simón Bolívar, who led the nation to independence in the early 19th century and sparked its proud history of autonomy, Chávez concocted a political system that used often high oil prices to essentially bribe the masses into supporting him. Yet his successor, Nicolás Maduro, lacks his charisma and capacity for scheming, and oil prices remain too low to give Maduro any financial leverage. Now his opposition has managed to coalesce around stopping his attempt to rewrite the constitution to give him final control over the courts and the legislature—his attempt to effectively make himself President for life.

Over the past five months, more than 100 protesters have been killed, and hundreds of thousands of people have marched in the streets. An opposition pilot dive-bombed the supreme court, and the Organization of American States (OAS) has condemned the regime. Even before the crisis, Venezuela was already one of the most violent countries in the Americas—on par with Mexico and El Salvador, which are in the midst of drug wars.

This is a potential disaster for the region because of the possibility of massive numbers of refugees (both at sea and especially to neighboring Colombia, which is just emerging from its own insurgency). It could constitute a drain on resources for other nations (including the U.S.), which would be forced to help a displaced and at-risk population. The havoc could also open up opportunities for drug smugglers.

Members of Venezuela's armed forces take part in military exercises on Aug. 25

MARCO BELLO—REUTERS

CUE U.S. PRESIDENT Donald Trump, who recently commented that "a military option" is on the table (something no one else in the U.S. government has suggested), and the mixture is beyond flammable—it is explosive.

The realistic choices for the U.S. are limited. First, we ought to focus on what we should not do, and that is intervene militarily. Any domineering pressure we place through sanctions or, certainly, our military will be seized upon by Maduro to rally his followers against the *yanquis*.

Second, we need to use strategic communication to prevent this from becoming a "U.S. vs. Venezuela" conversation. Instead, we should seek condemnation from organizations like the OAS and sanction the Venezuelan leadership in concert with others. We can work toward U.N. sanctions as well, depending on the actions that Maduro takes—though this will be difficult, since China and Russia have a cozy relationship with Venezuela.

Third, we should use our intelligence assets—satellite and unmanned aircraft sensors as well as cybersurveillance, especially of social networks—to observe the internal trends. We need to avoid being tactically surprised by either a massive refugee flow or a sudden descent into full-blown war.

Fourth, we should prepare to render humanitarian assistance and deal with a maritime flow of refugees. Guantánamo Bay has a well-resourced mission to undertake such responses. Coordination with potential target nations in the Caribbean and South America should begin now.

Finally, we should be in constant contact bilaterally with our key allies and friends in the region to defuse the crisis and also help create a true democracy in this important country.

Every nation in the Americas has an interest in a peaceful settlement in Venezuela. U.S. leadership should be subtle and restrained, while not going missing altogether. The end of the republic is close. Let's be ready for what comes next.

Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a former Supreme Allied Commander at NATO

IMMIGRATION

A dream derailed: Trump revokes young immigrants' protections

By Maya Rhodan

IN THE EARLY DAYS OF HIS PRESIDENCY, Donald Trump pledged to "show great heart" to the young immigrants who had entered the country illegally as children, usually brought by their parents. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, put in place by President Obama, has helped nearly 800,000 people get an education, find work and live without fear. "I love these kids," Trump said of the so-called Dreamers. He vowed that they could "rest easy."

Then on Sept. 5, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced that Obama's executive action was being rescinded, leaving many young immigrants to question their future in a country that they consider to be home.

The impact is immediate. DACA promptly closed to new applications. Those whose work permits and deportation deferrals (valid for two years) are set to expire on March 5, 2018, have until Oct. 5 to apply for a renewal. Applications that were submitted before the changes were announced will be adjudicated on a case-by-case basis, but Dreamers whose papers expire after March 5 have no recourse. Without DACA, they will be at risk for deportation.

Trump urged Congress to pass legislation restoring what his Administration had revoked. While parts of the GOP base oppose DACA, there will be a bipartisan push to preserve it. Republican Senator Lindsey Graham called on his colleagues to take up the bipartisan Dream Act, which would offer qualified immigrants a pathway to citizenship. But the politics are fraught. "The only thing that stands between you and certainty in your life is the Congress," Graham said of Dreamers. "That cannot be reassuring."

Tony Choi, a Dreamer whose DACA coverage is set to expire at the end of 2018, says that prospect was enough to bring him to tears. Six months, he adds, is not enough time for Congress to come up with a solution. "What's the guarantee that Congress actually will do something?" he says. "The reality is we don't know." ◻

Protesters in New York City urged the President on Aug. 30 to leave in place a program that has shielded young undocumented immigrants from deportation

ALBIN LOHR-JONES—PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY IMAGES

REFLECTIONS FROM 'DREAMERS'

In 2012, TIME published a cover story about the so-called Dreamers. In recent weeks, with the fate of DACA hanging in the balance, we interviewed 15 of the people on that cover about the program. Here's what some said:

"November was the first time in maybe six years that I felt like it didn't matter how hard I worked. At the end of the day, it could all be taken away from me at any moment."

VICTOR CUICAHUA

"Even though we won DACA and DACA is in peril now, that's never changed for me. Yeah, it made a lot of things in my life easier, but having fear has never gone away."

JUAN PABLO ORJUELA

"I have big goals. I don't know if I can take putting those dreams on hold again. It would be like a huge rewind. My mental health would be extremely compromised."

DANIELA BRAVO-TERKIA

"DACA is a great thing, but it really isn't enough. Which is why I'm committed to keep fighting for immigrants' rights."

CAROLINA BORTOLLETO

"If you don't qualify for a piece of paper ... in the eyes of the public and the immigration system, you're not human. That to me is the heartbreaking part."

JULIO SALGADO

Nation

HOUSTON

A view of Cinco Ranch, just west of Houston, after the storm; the floodwaters are a stew of toxins and bacteria

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENT HUMPHREYS FOR TIME

AFTER HARVEY

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

FROM LEFT: ADREES LATIF—REUTERS; LUKE SHARRETT—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

NATURAL DISASTERS ARE AMORAL THINGS: neither good nor bad, malign nor kind. No matter the destruction they cause, they are processes, nothing more—exercises in geology, meteorology, physics, thermodynamics.

We don't treat them that way, of course. We curse the tornado that tears up a town, the earthquake that topples a city. The people of New Orleans don't so much say the name Katrina as spit it. The same is true for New Yorkers and Sandy, and Floridians and Andrew. And the same is happening with southeast Texans and a name once as harmless as Harvey.

The story of the hurricane that roared ashore on Aug. 25 and parked above the greater Houston area for five devastating days is already being writ in its numbers: in the 51.88 in. of rain that accumulated, setting a record for the continental U.S.; the 300,000 people who lost power; the 440,000 who have applied for assistance from the Federal Emergency Management Agency; the 45,000 who sought refuge in shelters. As for the scale of the rebuilding that awaits the region? No one's making a firm estimate yet. FEMA Director Brock Long has merely said that he expects his agency to be there "for years."

Harvey is also becoming known for what it stole: the lives of over 70 people so far, a number that will grow as the floodwaters recede and reveal what they've taken. The deaths include six members of the Saldivar family—ages 6 to 84—whose remains were recovered in a van that tumbled off a bridge and into Greens Bayou. Also lost were Donald Rogers, a 65-year-old minister, and his wife Rochelle, who were trapped inside their pickup truck when they went to check on a family member. They called 911 for help as the waters overcame them, but the connection was dropped, and they perished in place.

But Harvey revealed something else about Texas too: a particular brand of compassionate resilience that shows itself best when a community is in crisis. Bayou City Fellowship, a Southern Baptist church with a young, social-media-savvy congregation, set up a page on its website to dispatch rescue boats, coordinate cleanup crews and collect donations. Bailey Chapel Church of God in Christ, a congregation based in Waller, Texas, sent volunteers as young as 11 to help with cleanup and demolition work. "I was brought to tears as soon as I saw them," says Temeka Kenebrew, a dialysis nurse who spent six days at work during the storm, only to come home and find her house flooded—and volunteers arriving to help. "I don't know any of these people. They literally just showed up and offered their assistance."

Similar caretaking took place at the George R. Brown Convention Center, where nearly 10,000 people sought refuge. Red Cross workers, local police and National Guard troops mixed with convention center employees and evacuees, many of whom pitched in as needed. Employees of the local J&D Entertainment Co. showed up too, dressed as Cinderella, Snow White and Belle, as well as Alice in

From left: Roads became rivers for people carrying supplies; a family awaits rescue by boat; contamination and mold claim what the water doesn't

Wonderland—on stilts. "She's never met a princess before," says Shay Smith, 23, the mother of a 4-year-old girl who ran excitedly to Cinderella, grabbing her in a hug. "It's a wonderful experience for them."

Elsewhere, children only a bit older volunteered to work alongside the adults. Aiden Pitcaithly, 9, has just enough muscle to manage a wheelbarrow, so that's how he decided to be of use, carting moldy wood from damaged houses. "I feel bad for people who lost their homes," he said, adding that his adult sisters had to be evacuated on a boat.

The meteorologic hurricane in Texas is being followed by the usual political one in Washington, and all the familiar issues are being raised, particularly climate change. Environmental scientists have been warning for years that a warmer planet means warmer oceans, which means more fuel to power the engines of hurricanes. When the storms whip up along coasts already inundated by rising seas caused by melting ice sheets, the damage is only greater.

"You fit all the data together … and as you get higher and higher values of precipitation, it becomes less and less likely without climate change," says Sarah Kapnick, a researcher at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

As if on cue, no sooner had Hurricane Harvey spun itself out than Hurricane Irma began forming, churning toward the U.S. as a Category 5 storm with the power to dwarf even the devastation wreaked on Houston. Harvey never exceeded Category 4, and its sustained winds barely topped 130 m.p.h., compared with Irma's astounding 185 m.p.h.

"May God protect us all" was how an official statement from the government of Antigua ended as Irma began to tear through the Caribbean. The storm's trajectory put it on a straight path toward Florida, which began bracing for the worst hurricane in the 25 years since Andrew. This year is not likely to be a busier hurricane season than 2005—which burned through its alphabetic list of names and had to resort to Greek-letter designations like Hurricane Beta—but it could be the most costly.

Hurricanes that roar ashore where no one lives are bad, but hurricanes that hit places that millions of people call home are vastly worse. Even then, Houston is a special case. The fourth largest U.S. city, it has undergone explosive growth in the past three decades, in both population and physical reach. The city proper is home to 2.3 million, but the greater Houston area sprawls across 10,000 sq. mi.—about the size of New Jersey—with a population of 6.3 million. That has put impossible pressure on the city's system of bayous, reservoirs and drainage channels, which never caught up with the city's expanding footprint.

"A lot of the [flood control] was done in the 1960s and '70s, and then we got into the '80s and '90s, and Houston grew like no tomorrow," says Phil Bedient, a professor of civil and environmental engineering at Rice University.

Now come the fights over money. Katrina was the

Gallery Furniture opened two locations to evacuees; Houstonians are petitioning for a "Mattress Mack Day" to honor owner Jim McIngvale

ASHL OCC TABLES (600 ▲)
CHAIRS
MIRRORS
LAMPS
ASHL OCC TABLES (599 ▼)
TRIEN UNDER STORAGE
UPHOLSTERY CHAIRS
FILE BASES
BENCHES
OCCASIONAL TABLES
CONSOLE TABLES (55" ▼)
17
18
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SAY SOMETHING!
Stiffel
FIRE HSE

most expensive hurricane in U.S. history, costing an estimated $160 billion when all the counting was done. Texas Governor Greg Abbott speculates that his state might need up to $180 billion to recover fully from Harvey. At the moment, the federal government barely has cash available to make a small down payment on that amount. FEMA has just $3 billion on hand, and President Trump has asked Congress for only $7.9 billion in initial recovery money—something that ought to be an easy lift, except that nothing has been easy on Capitol Hill in recent years. As greater Houston faces short-term recovery and years of long-term rebuilding, the rest of the country faces a hard reckoning over why these megastorms keep recurring and what we can do to contain the danger.

PART OF WHAT MADE Hurricane Harvey so devastating is that it was equal parts storm system and sucker punch. Meteorologists did a good job of tracking it from the moment it was born as a tropical wave—an area of low atmospheric pressure—off the coast of Africa on Aug. 13. It soon merged with another such trough near Cape Verde, and the two then did what such formations often do in that part of the world at this time of year, which was to organize themselves into a storm, drawing energy and moisture from the warm ocean waters, and then begin boiling westward.

Even in the two days before Harvey made landfall, forecasters were unknowingly lowballing its likely impact. It was predicted to reach Texas as a Category 1 or 2, far weaker than the Category 4 power with which it smashed into the coast. Rainfall was supposed to top out at 25 in.—less than half of what actually accumulated. Worse, Harvey was supposed to do what nearly all hurricanes do, which is to stay in motion, grinding deeper and deeper inland as the days wore on, which would take it farther from the warm Gulf waters it needed to keep raging.

Instead, Harvey stalled, parking itself over Houston, where it could drink its fill from the Gulf and pound the city at will. When that reality hit, officials seemed to scramble, tossing aside the measured phrasing usually used in public emergencies in favor of something more urgent. "The breadth and intensity of this rainfall are beyond anything experienced before," read a National Weather Service statement just over a day after the storm hit. "Catastrophic flooding is now underway and expected to continue for days.

"Turn around. Don't drown. Don't risk your life," Abbott instructed Houstonians at a press conference, warning them to be careful of floods if venturing out."GET OUT NOW!!" tweeted Brazoria County officials when one of the local levees was breached.

Those levees and the larger drainage system of which they're a part are coming in for scrutiny. Rainwater is supposed to stream into the streets, then through gutters and into bayous, a network of 22 slow-moving natural and engineered waterways that weave through the region. Levees provide a

PREVIOUS PAGES: BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES, FROM LEFT: ANDREW BURTON—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; BRENT HUMPHREYS FOR TIME; ADREES LATIF—REUTERS

From left: Michael LeCompte helps clean up a flooded home; Alicia Divers of the Bayou City Fellowship distributes clean water; and Isaac Zermeno helps discard a neighbor's ruined furniture

measure of protection if the waterways overflow, and portions of the city not close enough to the bayous are served by the Barker and Addicks reservoirs, catch basins that usually allow water to be collected and then released in a controlled way.

They were not nearly enough. The reservoirs were built in the 1940s, when Houston had less than a fifth of the population it has now and a fraction of the square mileage. "The density of the development just far exceeded the capacity," says Bedient.

That's not all the harm development did. Houston's soil is predominantly clay, which means it was never terribly absorbent to begin with. Paving over so much of it eliminated what little bit of runoff the ground could sop up. Wetlands—which act as natural sponges—have been wiped out by development too, with up to 38,000 acres destroyed in the Houston area in the past two decades.

Once floodwater starts to rise, it's never just water. Even in the cleanest regions, environmental pollutants like pesticides, fertilizers and household chemicals abound, and all of them mix, swirl and spread in floods. In Houston and neighboring Louisiana, this cocktail is different: the area is home to more than 30 refineries, producing some 8 million gallons of oil a day, or one-third of the nation's capacity. Floods can cause oil pipelines to shift and rupture. Chemical plants also call Houston home, and leaks are anticipated or have already been reported, including 34,000 lb. of benzene, toluene and carbon monoxide released by one local plant. An explosion at the Arkema chemical plant, northeast of Houston, was triggered when flooding shut down the refrigeration system that keeps chemicals from expanding in their holding tanks, spilling pollutants into both the water and the air.

There is also the matter of sewage, which is common to all places where people live but is much more abundant in large cities. "The challenges from a health standpoint are the bacteria and viruses that thrive in marine environments," says Tom Price, Secretary of the U.S. Health and Human Services Department. "The biggest thing is the mold that exists afterward once the water recedes."

What doesn't infect you could instead bite you. The media gave Houstonians a case of the creeps, airing footage of clots of fire ants floating on the surface of the floodwaters like living oil slicks. Homes that were dry and habitable one day were twitching with bayou snakes and frogs the next. One unlucky local found an alligator in his living room.

THE RAINS HAD BARELY stopped falling before the Beltway sniping began, with Texas Senator Ted Cruz appealing to Washington for relief money and both Democrats and a fellow Republican, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, accusing him of hypocrisy for voting against similar recovery funds after Superstorm Sandy devastated New York and New Jersey in 2012. (Cruz said he didn't oppose the relief money,

just the pork he claimed the relief bill was marbled with.) In a Sept. 6 deal reached with congressional Democratic leaders, Trump agreed to tie the initial recovery funds to a vote to raise the debt limit and fund the government through Dec. 15. Reached over the objections of Republican leaders, the agreement is set to provide Trump with a much needed bipartisan victory on the must-pass measures but sets the stage for an even higher-stakes showdown in the fall. Additional recovery funds are likely to face resistance from congressional fiscal hawks, with Tea Partyers in the House opposed to more borrowing. The question isn't whether conservative lawmakers will okay the first infusion of cash; it's whether they will swallow two much larger measures in the fall.

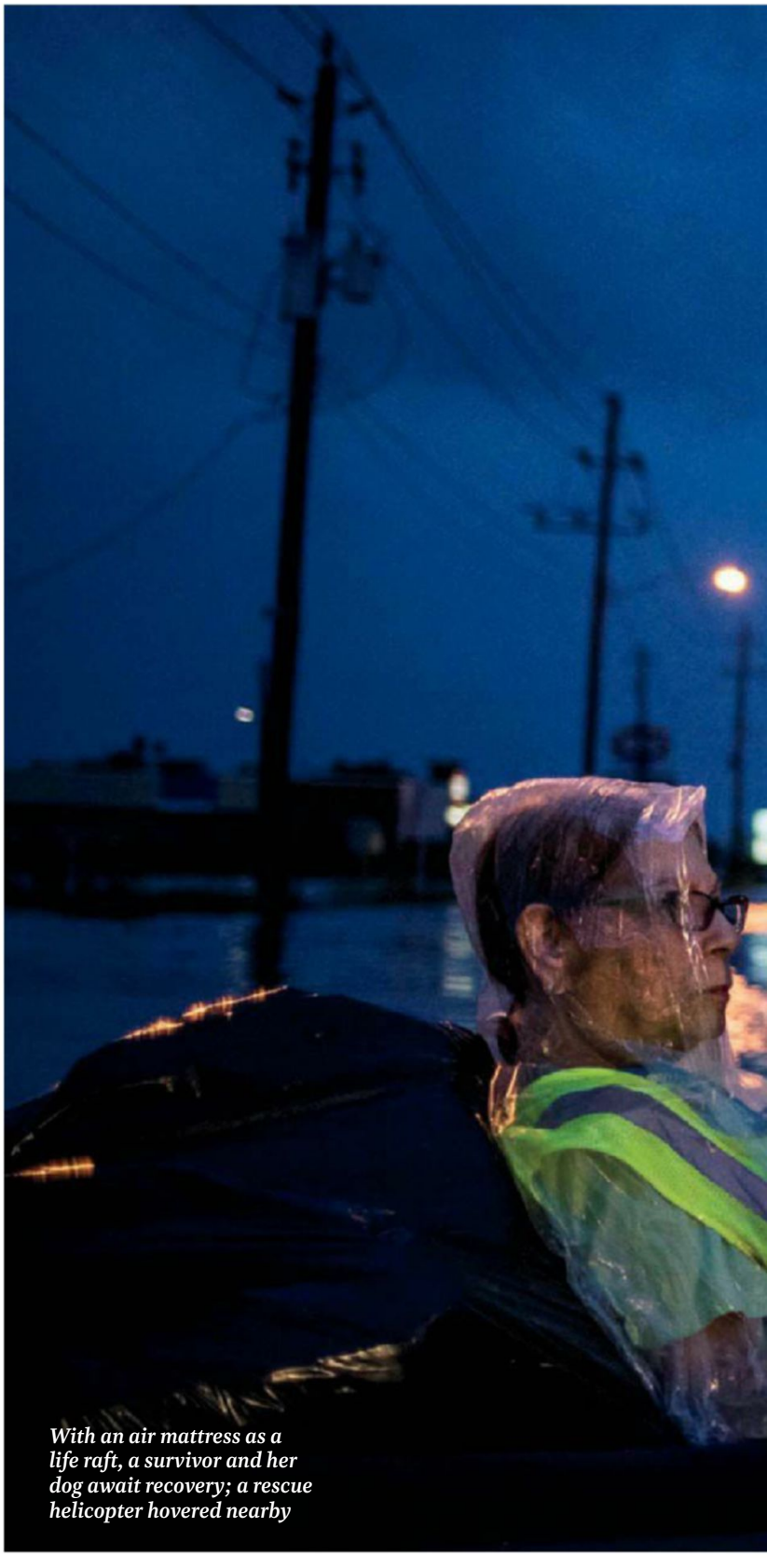
Controlling the unchecked growth that has allowed Houston and other cities to blow past sustainable limits may be harder still, especially with a developer occupying the Oval Office. In 2015, President Obama signed an Executive Order to mitigate flooding by requiring builders who receive federal funding to take climate-change modeling and flood risk into account in their designs. Last month Trump reversed the order during a public event at Trump Tower.

Much more challenging will be responding to the dangers presented by climate change. Scientists concede that it's impossible to say with certainty that any one hurricane is caused by warming. But it's a simple rule of meteorologic science that for every 1°C (1.8°F) rise in temperature, the atmosphere can hold 7% more water. "A warmer ocean makes a warmer atmosphere. A warmer atmosphere can hold more water," says Gabriel Vecchi, a professor of geosciences at Princeton University. "So all other things being equal, the same storm on a warmer planet will give you more rainfall." Hurricane Irma certainly seems to be evidence of the force-multiplying effect of too much heat, as does the mere existence of Hurricanes Jose and Katia, which are close on its tail.

For now, little of this matters to the reeling residents of Houston. They will do what people in communities hit by hurricanes have done before: grieve their losses, pick themselves up, dry themselves off, rebuild if they can, relocate if they can't and rely on their community for support.

"People are helping other people. They see the need," says Mary Curtis, 78, a church mother with the Bailey Chapel Church of God in Christ, who is helping with the cleanup. "I may not be able to do much manually, but we can encourage: 'You don't have to worry, because we're here for you.'"

That's the least that neighbors can do for one another, and sometimes it's also the most. It will be up to policymakers and elected leaders, who have the power to do more, to use that power. —*With reporting by* CHARLOTTE ALTER/HOUSTON *and* ELIZABETH DIAS, ZEKE J. MILLER *and* JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON ◻



With an air mattress as a life raft, a survivor and her dog await recovery; a rescue helicopter hovered nearby

PHOTOGRAPH BY ADREES LATIF—REUTERS

THE NEXT FAKE-NEWS WAR

On the front lines with the fact-checkers and soldiers in the information war By Simon Shuster/Berlin

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE FOR TIME

Merkel
vor
Gericht!

One morning in November, Simon Hegelich, a professor of political science at the Technical University of Munich, was surprised to get an invitation from Angela Merkel. The German Chancellor said she wanted to hear about his research on the manipulation of voter sentiment.

Less than two weeks earlier, the U.S. election had ended in victory for Donald Trump, and the postmortems were full of buzzwords that Merkel urgently needed to understand: *filter bubbles, bots, fake news, disinformation,* much of it related to the claims that Russia had somehow hijacked the election.

What was past, Merkel said, may be prologue. With German elections scheduled for Sept. 24, the Chancellor knows that her bid for a fourth term in office may be subject to the same dirty tricks employed in the U.S. race. As Europe's most powerful leader and a determined critic of the Kremlin, Merkel has raised alarms over Russia's "disinformation" campaigns in Germany. Emails were stolen from her political allies in 2015 by the same hackers who later targeted the U.S. race, according to German and American investigators. During her nearly 12 years in power, Merkel has also watched the Kremlin's media apparatus air broadsides against her policies in a variety of languages.

Her concern is not just the Russian media outlets that spread disinformation, Hegelich says. It is also the automated algorithms, known as bots, that help false reports go viral before politicians or fact-checkers can debunk them. In June, one study found that 59% of Germans reported seeing fake news online; 61% said it poses a threat to democracy.

So Merkel's government is preparing for a siege. Her coalition in Parliament passed a law at the end of June that will impose fines worth upwards of $59 million on Facebook and other social-media companies that do not promptly remove "illegal content," a term Merkel's government has used to target everything from hate speech and pornography to defamatory propaganda. "False news is a threat to our culture of debate," the official behind the law, Justice Minister Heiko Maas, told a German newspaper in January. "There should be just as little tolerance for criminal rabble-rousing on social networks as on the street," he later added.

The White House is well aware of the challenge. On Aug. 6, National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster said Russian disinformation "is ongoing every day in an effort to break apart Europe."

Germany's Network Enforcement Act, which is due to take effect in October, is among the more extreme reactions to Moscow's influence campaign, though it's hardly the only one. The E.U. has created an office devoted to debunking fake news and Russian propaganda. A Czech police agency scans social media for disinformation and other "hybrid threats." And French President Emmanuel Macron banned Russian news organizations RT and Sputnik from his campaign headquarters in April.

These steps point to the fears, or paranoia, that the tools of political sabotage have advanced enough to threaten Western democracies. "Democracy is all about public opinion," Hegelich recalls telling Merkel when they met. "And if there are new ways to manipulate public opinion, then we will see a new type of democracy." In some ways this is already happening. In an era when hackers can steal the secrets of virtually any politician, and where an Internet connection is all that's needed to command an audience of millions, one viral post—even a fake one—could be enough to turn an election.

Today, no democracy is free from that risk. But Russia and Germany have emerged as the most determined players in the scramble to adapt to this new terrain and, where possible, to reshape it. The German vote will be an early test: either the campaign will unfold in the same atmosphere of hacks, leaks and disinformation that marred the U.S. election, or it will progress in typical, orderly German fashion, under the rules that Merkel's government is trying to write on the fly.

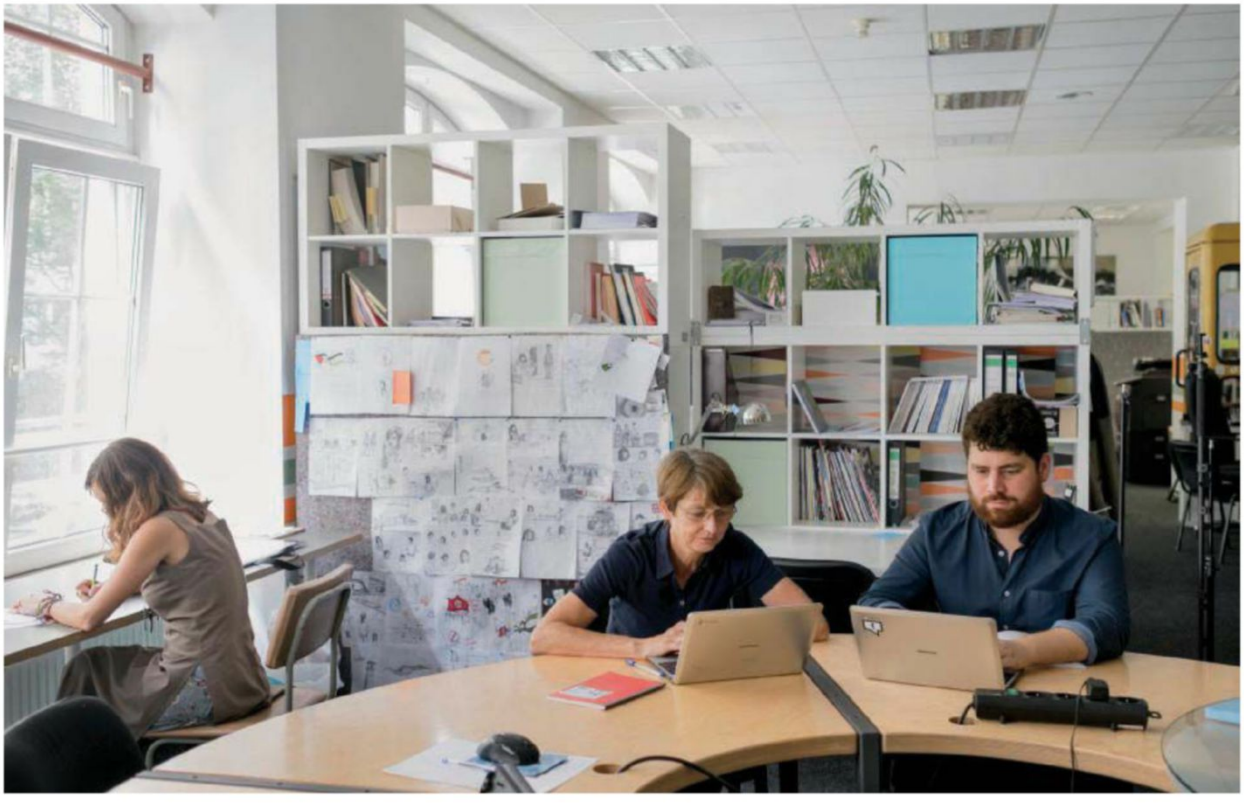
$59M

The fine that social-media companies risk for publishing fake news in Germany

FROM HIS OFFICES in London, Richard Allan, Facebook's vice president for public policy in Europe, has watched these German rules take shape with a mix of surprise and resignation. The Network Enforcement Act would give social networks a new, weightier role in the political debate, effectively turning Facebook into an "arbiter of truth," says Allan. "And we're just not comfortable with that."

But Facebook's claim to being a neutral means of communication went out the window during the U.S. election. Within a week of Trump's victory, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg admitted that the public was right to ask about the company's role in spreading fake news. But he also cautioned that "identifying the 'truth' is complicated."

Rather than play the role of truth arbiter, Facebook has effectively outsourced that job to independent fact-checkers who sift through endless streams of articles, conspiracy theories and rumors, and try to set the record straight. In Germany, the company's fact-checking partner is an investigative journalism startup called Correctiv, whose cluttered newsroom is on the second floor of a vine-covered building in central Berlin, below a hostel and above a bar.



Correctiv's fact-checking chief Jutta Kramm and fact-checker Jacques Pezet work in the Berlin office on Aug. 9

MILA TESHAIEVA—OSTKREUZ FOR TIME

Jutta Kramm, director of Correctiv's four-person fact-checking team, doesn't much care whether fake news comes from Russia or its ideological fellow travelers on the German right wing. "We just want to be prepared for them," says Kramm. "It's really important that we make our electoral decisions on the basis of facts and not lies."

Her job is to divine the difference. Each morning an email from Facebook arrives in her inbox full of dubious material dredged up from across the social network. Much of it comes from automated filters that pick out hoaxes and clickbait. Regular Facebook users compile the rest by flagging posts they deem wrong or offensive. The result is a digital mess that Correctiv sifts through in search of posts that are purposely misleading and likely to spread.

The most common ones in Germany relate to Merkel's immigration policy; false or wildly exaggerated tales about migrants assaulting German women or committing other violent crimes. Even when such stories are debunked, experts say they tend to fuel mistrust toward foreigners. They also help Merkel's critics cast blame on her government, which is often accused of endangering the country by letting in hundreds of thousands of refugees.

When such a story appears in the Correctiv inbox, its journalists try to track down the original source and produce a report exposing its errors and falsehoods. What distinguishes their work from most other fact-checkers is the ability, with help from Facebook, "to get into the filter bubble of the people who are reading fake news," says Kramm.

As part of their cooperation, Facebook has agreed to reach into the news feeds of its users and put a warning label next to the disputed posts. The idea is not to censor or delete the content but to make readers think twice about its sources. "We're not the ones doing the fact-checking," says Allan. "The healthy ecosystem is one in which expert fact-checkers are doing their job, and they can reach people through Facebook."

BUT THAT SYSTEM still allows plenty of fake news to spread. Among the most aggressive propagandists Correctiv deals with is a small but growing Russian operation known as News Front, a multimedia outlet that pumps out content in several languages, including German, Spanish and English. With about 10 staff members and a few dozen contributors around the world, it is among the better-resourced players in the Russian media ecosystem—though its sources of funding are opaque.

Konstantin Knyrik, the 28-year-old founder and editor of News Front, thinks of himself less as a journalist than an information warrior for the digital age, and he has the career and the connections to prove it. As a teenager in the mid-2000s, he became an active member of the Eurasian Youth Union, a group

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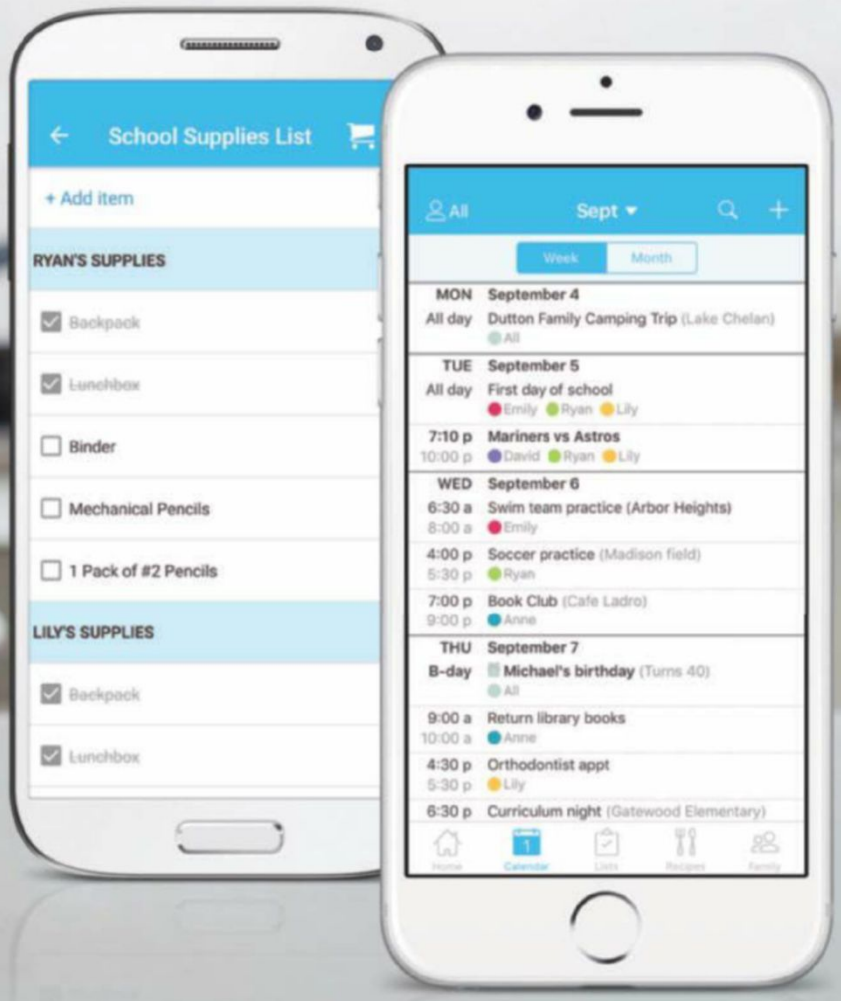

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of hard-line Russian nationalists who campaign for Moscow to restore the empire it lost after the fall of the Soviet Union. When he was just 16, Knyrik became its representative in the region of Crimea, a vast peninsula in southern Ukraine. In the spring of 2014, as Russian troops invaded the region and prepared to annex it, he led a column of pro-Russian paramilitaries to seize the headquarters of the Crimean Center for Investigative Journalism, the region's leading independent news source. The troops forcibly expelled the Center's journalists and confiscated their equipment. Knyrik then created News Front in its place.

Today his outlet films its broadcasts at a studio in Simferopol, the capital of Crimea, with oversight from the region's Kremlin-backed authorities. Speaking by phone from his offices in June, Knyrik cast himself as a counterweight to the West's propaganda war against Russia: "We want people to see an alternative point of view." In the U.S. and Europe, he says, "all they have is an information vacuum, with all this stuff being pounded into their heads, all these absurd lies from the official propaganda channels." It is a favorite narrative of Russian state media; the editor-in-chief of the Kremlin-funded RT network, Margarita Simonyan, told TIME much the same thing in 2015: "No one shows objective reality," she said. Even the idea of objective reporting is inconsistent with this worldview. There is only the spin of competing perspectives, none of which is more valid than the others.

His own newsroom, Knyrik insists, is independent of government influence. Yet News Front reporters have been granted extraordinary access to the Russian armed forces, often embedding with troops and paramilitaries fighting in Syria and eastern Ukraine.

What makes News Front stand out from other Russian outlets is that it rarely even pretends to uphold standards of balanced journalism. Its website calls the agency's staff members "voluntary fighters of the information war," whose mission is to "defend the interests of Russian civilization and to show the true face of the enemies of the Russian world." Sputnik and RT, Russian outlets with overt funding from the state, try to act like professional media companies, presenting a Russian twist on world events usually without resorting to outright jingoism and fabrication. Their Crimean cousin, by contrast, acts more like a scrappy paramilitary unit, pushing the same goals and ideology more aggressively, free of direct links to the Kremlin. Contributors in Europe often publish their work anonymously, providing a layer of protection from the authorities that Russia's official outlets do not enjoy. The main stringer for News Front in Germany, for instance, uses online aliases, and Knyrik declines to provide his real name. "I worry about him and our other volunteers. They could be arrested," he says, as if they were soldiers behind enemy lines.

In an analysis of Russia's influence operation in Germany that was published in June, the Digital Forensic Research Lab of the Atlantic Council, a Washington-based think tank, found News Front to be one of the Kremlin's three main "amplifiers" in Germany, alongside Sputnik and RT. "Together, this network represents a potential channel by which disinformation could be inserted into the German information space ahead of the elections," the report states.

59%
The percentage of Germans who have reported seeing fake news online

IF RUSSIA AND GERMANY are establishing the front lines in this new information war, the authorities in Europe are still attempting to marshal the troops. The Brussels-based organization East StratCom, which the E.U. created in 2015 to counter Russian misinformation, seems woefully underequipped. Its three journalists compile a weekly list of fake news stories and try to debunk them on Facebook and Twitter. But the agency does not even have its own budget, and its reach on social-media platforms is tiny; its Facebook page has only around 18,000 likes, compared with the million-plus likes on Sputnik's. "They have thousands of people telling stories which do not reflect reality," Jean-Claude Juncker, head of the E.U.'s executive branch, told TIME in February. "We have only a few people, because I don't want to engage a thousand new civil servants to react to this."

There's another problem. Chasing hoaxes around the Internet often draws even more attention to them, and in an age of partisan divides, many readers would be inclined to believe a deception that reinforces their political views. "Fake news always has an early start," says Peter Burger, a lecturer at Leiden University in the Netherlands, who studies how hoaxes spread. "Even if we fact-check them, a lot of people will say we are just liberals in an ivory tower, or part of some conspiracy."

The better approach, he says, might be to introduce a fact-checking curriculum in schools and make students more aware of their sources of information. But that educational approach will take years to have an impact, and in the meantime fake-news technology will continue to advance. In July, academics at the University of Washington revealed that they could "synthesize" a video of Barack Obama delivering lines he had never actually spoken. "You can create videos that look absolutely like they are real," says Hegelich, who continued advising the German government after that first meeting with Merkel in November. Right now, it would take hours if not days to produce a forensic analysis showing that such a video is fake, and by then its impact would be almost irreversible. At the very least, it would make voters in Germany or elsewhere unsure of what to believe as they head to the polls. "It leaves a trace of doubt over everything," says Hegelich. And if the goal is to undermine a democracy, that would be a mission accomplished. —*With reporting by* CHARLOTTE MCDONALD-GIBSON/BRUSSELS ◻

Nation

THE PHILOSOPHER KING

As people look to California to push back against a Republican agenda, Jerry Brown sees his star soar

By Katy Steinmetz

Photographs by Benjamin Rasmussen for TIME

California Governor Jerry Brown, nearing the end of an unprecedented fourth term in office, stands in the governor's mansion in Sacramento

It was one of San Francisco's famously cool summer days and a victorious moment for the 79-year-old governor, one that would not have had the same electricity if Hillary Clinton had been the person occupying the Oval Office.

"There are turning points where the earth goes into irreversible change," Brown warned, preparing to sign legislation he had championed to extend California's singular cap-and-trade program until 2030. "This is not about a politician," he went on. "It's about the world. And California is leading the world in dealing with the principal existential threat that humanity faces. I mean, what could be a more glorious undertaking than the one we're now embarked upon?"

California has always been a place for glorious undertakings—mining for gold, chasing fame, coming up with Silicon Valley's next big idea—and few names carry more political weight in the state than Brown's. Following in his father's footsteps, Jerry Brown first served as governor 40 years ago, and as he nears the end of an unprecedented fourth term, the election of Donald Trump has arguably made the Golden State's chief executive the most powerful Democrat in America. As Washington continues to be dominated by scandal and squabble, the state that likes to think of itself as an engine for progress is using the President as fuel. "We are getting sh-t done," Brown said to a cheering crowd of union members in late August in San Francisco, touting recent achievements like passing a gas tax that will fund $52 billion in road repairs. "We're here to lead," Brown said, "not to listen to that clown in Washington tear the country apart."

Over the past half century, Brown has served not just as governor but as California's secretary of state and attorney general, the mayor of Oakland and the head of the state's Democratic Party. The idealist once derided as "Governor Moonbeam" also lost elections, including three bids for the White House and one for the Senate, failures that propelled a wilderness period during which he studied meditation in Japan, aided Mother Teresa in India and practiced his Spanish in Mexico. Along the way, people asked the question: Why didn't he just give politics up?

'We're here to lead, not to listen to that clown in Washington tear the country apart.'

One answer is that he really likes being a politician, including the part where you run for office and the part where you solve big problems. When Brown returned to the state's highest office in 2011, erasing any doubts that he was washed up, he faced economic tumult and a prevailing opinion that the enormous, complicated state was simply ungovernable. Although he led the state out of that financial mess and the California brand has regained its sunny promise over the past six years, the state still faces enormous challenges: inequality, housing shortages, the specter of returning deficits. But the slim, bald man—still full of vim—is keen to take them on, leveraging the fact that Democrats now dominate the once purple state at almost every level. "He's a man on fire," says California attorney general Xavier Becerra.

With a to-do list too long to ever complete, Brown is racing a ticking clock. "I was in a hurry when I was 40, and I am now in a hurry when I am 79," he tells TIME. "I do think there is a greater sense of urgency right now, urgency on my part." He has limited time to take advantage of his foil in D.C. And as the race to replace him in Sacramento heats up, Brown will also confront a ghost that comes for every politician nearing the end of a long turn in the spotlight. "Eventually, he will face the issue of all lame-duck chief executives," says Ethan Rarick, a politics professor at the University of California, Berkeley. "For the first time in a long time, the focus of the state will not be on Jerry Brown."

OUTSIDE BROWN'S OFFICE at the capitol in Sacramento stands a bronze statue of the grizzly that appears on the state flag. Inside, wearing a pin of that same California bear on his lapel, Brown points to a black-and-white photograph taken when he was studying to become a Jesuit priest as a young man. "It was withdrawal, it was speaking in Latin, it was silence," Brown says of those three and a half years, "a totally different world." Standing in identical robes with the other novitiates who were being taught the values of obedience, poverty and chastity, young Jerry is hard to pick out. And so it seems little surprise that he left: a life of blending and being guided by someone else's ideas was not a natural path for a boy who grew up being enamored with, and repelled by,

Brown hosts a meeting with environmental experts at his office in Sacramento

the machinations of politics.

His father, Edmund "Pat" Brown Sr., was "a glad-hander in the best sense of the word," says Rarick. "He worked every room he ever walked into." Pat Brown, who was governor in the late 1950s and '60s (before a political novice named Ronald Reagan tossed him out), was famous for building and expanding, whether it was ambitious water projects or new campuses in the state university system. His son is now pursuing some grand and controversial visions in that vein, like building a high-speed rail system that would stitch San Francisco to Los Angeles through the state's rich agricultural corridor and constructing massive tunnels to bring water from the river delta in the north to cities and orchards farther south. But the socially liberal and fiscally conservative Brown, who famously ditched the governor's limousine for a blue Plymouth the first time he was elected, is better known for preaching about limits—whether it's curbing the influence of lobbyists or telling people that the fossil-fuel party can't go on forever.

Brown has been a moderating force for the more liberal lawmakers in Sacramento. In August, for instance, he said there would have to be changes to a so-called sanctuary-state bill that would limit the amount that local law enforcement can aid federal immigration authorities, upsetting immigrant-rights advocates. He would likely protest the comparison, but his career owes more to Bill Clinton's politics of the center than Barack Obama's more muscular liberalism. In any case, the exact location of Brown's philosophy on the spectrum from left to right matters less than the fact that Democrats hold every important office here, and so getting things done is easier than it is in Washington. Meanwhile, California's vast impact on the global economy means that the veteran pol cannot avoid—and clearly enjoys—his outsize role on the global stage. Shortly after Trump withdrew from the Paris climate accord, Brown traveled to China to discuss global warming with President Xi Jinping. He also announced that San Francisco will host a Global Climate Action Summit next year. And on Sept. 3, he flew to Russia to attend an economic forum, with plans to call for greater "trans-Pacific collaboration" on the issue.

At Brown's Sacramento office, bookshelves sag under the weight of volumes covering an array of topics a hundred miles wide: money, food, sports, Islam, ethnobotany. Ask him what he's reading now and he eventually lists three books (on Christian philosophy, preserving habitats and social democracy in Germany from 1905 to 1917). On the windowsills are models of high-speed trains. On the wall is a Chinese tapestry and a photograph of his father with JFK. Above one doorway is a picture of his staff from the era when he was first elected governor in 1974, at age 36; above another is the crew that served with him after he returned at 72. Brown says he's been better at the job this time

around. "Whether it is studying algebra or riding a bicycle, the more practice you have, the better you get," he explains.

When Brown ran for President in 1980, during his first stint as governor, his slogan was "Protect the Earth—Serve the People—Explore the Universe." The Moonbeam nickname, bestowed upon him by a columnist, seemed to fit the leader of hippie-dippie California voters, a man who was already sounding the alarm about the need for solar energy and making suggestions that California should launch its own communications satellite (an idea that may have seemed crazy at the time but turned out to be prescient).

Jerry 2.0 is more grounded, having spent time filling potholes and wooing developers as the mayor of Oakland. He made waves the first time he led the state by refusing to live in a new governor's mansion that the Reagans had built—instead forking out $250 a month for a minimally furnished apartment. This time, he's living in the old, refurbished mansion that his father once inhabited. At one point, the place was a dank museum, with his mother's old dresses hanging in the closet long after she had gone. New generations of the extended Brown family and delegations from places like China have brought the place back to life. Still, he adds, "it has the odors and the memories and the echoes of the people who went before. So it does ground what I am doing now."

AND THEN THERE IS the Trump factor. Brown got what you might call a "Trump bump" this year, hitting record approval ratings during the President's first 100 days in office. Despite taking jabs at Trump in recent speeches, Brown says he does not like to use the word *resistance*. "I'd like to reframe it as *action*. And we started taking action in California long before Donald Trump was even heard of," Brown says, sitting in a wooden chair at his office. "There are things he is doing and saying that I don't agree with or don't like, but we are on our own positive program." California will simply continue down its green, immigrant-friendly path, he says, "and to the extent that the Trump Administration tries to throw up roadblocks, we will try to combat that and take action against it where we can."

There is no question that California has been showcasing forms of resistance. The state and various cities in it have sued Trump over everything from health care to energy-efficiency standards to the President's promises to deny federal funds to sanctuary cities. Places like San Francisco and Berkeley have proposed divesting from any firms that help build a border wall. There are fights brewing over pesticides used on California farms and potential crackdowns on legal marijuana. Leading tech CEOs from Silicon Valley have abandoned presidential advisory councils in protest over Trump's stances on immigration and his handling of white nationalists' protests. One state lawmaker even suggested altering textbooks in California to include information on Russian meddling in the 2016 election.

> 'There is a superficial, unreal quality about a lot of the debate and discussion going on in the public life of America.'

There is also little doubt that Brown's actions, at least on climate change, are adding to the resistance momentum. At a State Department press conference around the time of Brown's trip to China, a reporter asked about his meeting with another country's head of state, characterizing it as an effort "to kind of go around the Trump Administration's stance on the Paris Agreement." The spokesperson responded, "Well, Jerry Brown is not a part of the Trump Administration." The reporter responded, "That's exactly what I'm saying."

When asked what he most wants to achieve during the 16 months he has left in office, Brown answers in paragraphs, mentioning the budget, the environment, prison reform, housing and schools as well as his big, expensive infrastructure projects. "And there are probably many more things that would come to mind," he says, "if you asked me specifically about them." He fondly calls California a "place of ideas and ferment."

When asked what the election of Donald Trump teaches us about America, Brown's first response is that "it teaches us that a lot of people did not like Hillary Clinton," a person he had rocky relations with after running against Bill Clinton for the presidential nomination in 1992. He qualifies that by saying that the GOP "did a very effective job" of undermining her and that the result more broadly reflects "a deep disorder in contemporary politics," because Trump was successful despite having a casual relationship with the truth, despite his vacillating and tweeting. "There is a superficial, unreal quality about a lot of the debate and discussion going on in the public life of America," he says, adding that there is "great peril if we, the leaders, don't take things with more sincerity and more depth."

But while Brown looks at American politics and sees people who aren't thinking through the endgame, he clearly loves the process and the clunky, cluttered, imperfect game it creates. "This political world is a combat," he says. "It's quite a collision of very different ideas, and that is part of how we resolve disputes. It's messy, in many ways it's dismaying, but it is the democratic process." Brown can't put into words one thing that has driven him to run all these years, other than the fact that it suits him. "People in politics like to be in politics. They like to talk, they like to be seen, they like to hang out with people who can give them money," he says, "and then hopefully, they like, just as much and more, to do what they are elected to do."

Which all leads back to that question: Will he ever quit? Bernie Sanders just made a run at the presidency at age 74. Trump became the oldest President to take the oath of office in January, at age 70. Some who know Brown well, like former San Francisco mayor Willie Brown, believe that age won't slow him. He has urged Brown to take a spin in his old job at city hall. "If you can perform and you can still think, then you should be rewarded," he says, "because your value is so much greater than somebody who is still trying to find the bathroom." But the governor says he will not run for mayor of San Francisco. And while he's certainly not tired of people asking whether he will run for President in

Brown, at the governor's mansion, has taken on a global role as America's climate-change crusader

2020, the answer is a pretty hard "no."

That is, however, the same answer he gives when you ask Brown if he thinks about his legacy. "If you actually think about it, what would that mean? Are you talking about a book someone would write about you?" he says, starting one of his Socratic dialogues, pressing for an answer to push back against. "It is kind of a morbid, backward-looking thought," he says, "whereas if you are fully alive and every day you are getting up and the sun is shining and the birds are chirping … I mean, there is stuff to do, problems and crises. That is very exciting." Doesn't it make more sense, he asks, that a politician would arise to tackle the day than try to shape some nebulous future impression of what he had achieved? "The concept is thin," he says, "to be charitable."

IF BROWN STILL IS A MAN on fire, friends and colleagues say it's partly due to Anne Gust Brown, a seasoned lawyer and close adviser whom Jerry, a bachelor for decades, married at age 67. They describe her as not only a source of oxygen for the flames but a ventilation system that keeps the burn steady and controlled. "He's like a wave of energy that just moves," says longtime friend Bill Biamonte, and she keeps him focused. "If he had met Anne earlier," Biamonte says, "I really believe he would have been President." Although baby boomers might remember Brown's fling with rocker Linda Ronstadt during his first stint in office, the governor says he's better suited to being off the market. "We work together very carefully and closely and we enjoy our company immensely," he says of his wife. "I would have never imagined it was this good, and I am sorry I didn't get married earlier."

During TIME's interview with the governor, Gust Brown was comparing batteries that the couple might use on their solar microgrid at a ranch they're constructing in Colusa County, northwest of Sacramento. The spot is Brown family land: a blanched animal skull from the area sits on a table in his office, below a photograph of his great-grandfather herding sheep there. His dog, named Colusa (three parts corgi, one part border collie), scampers around the room. Brown speaks tenderly of the land where his family once had a mountain house, a place his grandmother would tell him about while reading stories from the Bible. "They inhabited it the first time, and now going back a second time, we'll re-inhabit it and transform it with olive trees and a home," he says. "It will be a place where I can invite people and do things and learn how to live in 110-degree heat, because that is the way my great-grandfather lived."

The picture is romantic and detailed, but other people have trouble seeing it. "I have never envisioned Jerry Brown as being a farmer," says Willie Brown, who worked with him in Sacramento during Brown's earliest days in statewide office. "I assume he's building a vacation home for a President." ◻

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women who are changing the world

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT / MARY BARRA / PATRICIA BATH / ELIZABETH BLACKBURN / URSULA BURNS / CANDIS CAYNE / HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON / EILEEN COLLINS / KELLYANNE CONWAY / MO'NE DAVIS / ELLEN DEGENERES GABBY DOUGLAS / RITA DOVE / ANN DUNWOODY / AVA DUVERNAY / SYLVIA EARLE / ARETHA FRANKLIN / MELINDA GATES / SELENA GOMEZ / NIKKI HALEY / CARLA HAYDEN / MAZIE HIRONO / KATHARINE JEFFERTS SCHORI MAE JEMISON / MAYA LIN / LORETTA LYNCH / RACHEL MADDOW / RITA MORENO / JENNIFER YUH NELSON ILHAN OMAR / DANICA PATRICK / NANCY PELOSI / MICHELLE PHAN / ISSA RAE / SHONDA RHIMES / LORI ROBINSON / SHERYL SANDBERG / CINDY SHERMAN / KATHRYN SMITH / KATHRYN SULLIVAN / BARBARA WALTERS / ALICE WATERS / GEISHA WILLIAMS / SERENA WILLIAMS / OPRAH WINFREY / JANET YELLEN

Photographs by Luisa Dörr for TIME

ONE GIANT LEAP FOR WOMANKIND

By Nancy Gibbs

‘She broke the glass ceiling.’ What a jagged image we use for women who achieve greatly, defining accomplishment in terms of the barrier rather than the triumph.

Talk to women about the forces that drive them and they hit notes of joy and fascination—a passion for music or molecules or finance or food that took them places their sisters and mothers had not gone before. "Sometimes even now when I'm told I was a 'first,' it comes as a surprise," says Patricia Bath, a pioneering physician and inventor. "I wasn't seeking to be first. I was just doing my thing."

We wondered if there is a common motive or muscle shared by women who are pioneers. The women profiled here range in age from 16 to 87 and have flourished in public service and private enterprise, explorations to the bottom of the sea and to the outer orbit of Earth. They have been on journeys to places only they could imagine and frequently encountered people who said they would never get there. These stories of success are knitted with stories of setbacks, and these women often credit the people who tried to stop them as a motivating force.

"I recall visiting the home of friends, and a man who was present asked me what I wanted to do one day," says molecular biologist and Nobel laureate Elizabeth Blackburn. "I said, 'I'm going to be a scientist.' And he said, 'What's a nice girl like you doing going into science?' I was shocked and so mad that I didn't know what to say in response. So I kept my mouth shut, but I was all the more determined. In a way, I'm quite grateful to that man."

THE FIRST WOMAN to reach a pinnacle may not want anyone to notice her gender; there she is up where the air is thin, where men still outnumber women, but she made it on her own wings. Gender is irrelevant; it's the altitude that is awesome. But why are there so few women up there with her? Why did it take this long? And if the answer is even partly that there were few role models, that there were no ladies' rooms in the halls of power, that every step was steeper and harder, then women need to stand up, stand out and be seen at every level, for every talent and discipline. "If the person who gets to tell the story is always one kind of person," observes filmmaker Ava DuVernay, who describes Hollywood as a white man's world, "we internalize it, we drink it in as fact." Hence the need for an alternative reality. "You can't imagine doing something you can't even see," argues Hillary Rodham Clinton. "How do you plan to be an underseas explorer or a general in the military or a great scientist if you don't see role models?"

Barbara Walters
Co-anchored Today *and* ABC Evening News

Mae Jemison
Flew on the Endeavour *space shuttle in 1992*

Ann Dunwoody
Served nearly 40 years in the U.S. military

Sylvia Earle
Led the first all-female team of aquanauts

At the same time, many of these women extol the men in their lives—an older brother as a first competitor, a father who set no limits. "If your dad believes in you, that's important to young girls," says philanthropist Melinda Gates. "If your dad thinks you can be good at math and science, good at business, good at anything, it lifts your confidence and your self-esteem." Former U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch recalls how her father, a Baptist minister, defied convention and invited women to preach at his pulpit. "The aspirations and dreams he had for my brothers were the same ones he had for me," she says.

Famously successful figures often develop a thick skin in the face of criticism—as when a flock of supercilious French chefs came to Alice Waters' renowned restaurant and declared, "That's not cooking, that's shopping." Or as TV star Issa Rae puts it, "There's so much subtlety in the sexism and racism in this industry that you either have to call it out and risk being shunned, or move past it and find your own entryway. I'm definitely in the latter category."

But a thick skin can disrupt sensitivity; what's remarkable about many of these women is their ability to remain empathic and accessible in the face of resistance and ridicule. Many of them discussed moments of failure, of rebuke, and how the criticism was often a fuel. "Raising hackles means you're not being ignored," says former U.S. poet laureate Rita Dove. "You're pushing the conversation forward."

Our goal with this extraordinary project—which encompasses this issue as well as documentary videos on TIME.com and a book coming out next month—is for every woman and girl to find someone who moves her, to find someone whose presence in the highest reaches of success says to her that it is safe to climb, come on up, the view is spectacular. These women were candid about their challenges, aware of their responsibilities, eager to tell the stories that will surprise and inspire. We hope everyone, at every life stage, will encounter an insight here that will open a door to new ambitions. As former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright always says, "There is a special place in hell for women who do not help each other." But the reverse is also true and more uplifting: there is a special place in heaven for women who shine the light and share it with others. ◻

FROM TOP: GETTY IMAGES; NASA; COURTESY ANN DUNWOODY; COURTESY SYLVIA EARLE

‘I didn’t think my songs would become anthems for women. But I’m delighted.’

Aretha Franklin

First woman to be inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame

The first songs I sang in church were “Jesus Be a Fence Around Me” and “I Am Sealed.” I was around 8 or 9. My dad asked me to sing that day. I didn’t want to sing in front of an audience. But he heard the possibilities and he continued to encourage me, and thank God he did. Singing at a concert vs. singing in the church is like singing no place else, really. You have an ethereal feeling there. The house of God is the house of God. But all music is motivating, inspiring, transporting.

I didn’t think my songs would become anthems for women. But I’m delighted. Women probably immediately feel compassion and relate to the lyrics. We can all learn a little something from each other, so whatever people can take and be inspired by where my music is concerned is great.

When we recorded “Respect” and “Natural Woman” in the studio, everyone—the musicians and singers—stood up. We were on air, really happy about the takes. My producer at the time, Jerry Wexler, a VP of Atlantic Records, said, “Let’s wait until tomorrow night this time. If we feel the same way tomorrow, if we’re still standing on air about it, we probably have a hit.” He would still be walking on air to this day.

Watch Franklin perform a gospel song at her father’s church on **time.com/aretha**

Sylvia Earle

First woman to become chief scientist of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

I was a scientist at Harvard when I noticed a paper on the bulletin board asking if anyone would be interested in living underwater as a scientist for two weeks in the U.S. Virgin Islands. It was clear that no one expected women to apply. But some of us did. They allowed us to have a women's team, and I was the leader. The men were called aquanauts. The women, we were aqua-babes, aqua-chicks, aqua-naughties. But we didn't care what they called us, as long as we had a chance to go.

Mo'ne Davis

First girl to pitch a shutout and win a game in a Little League World Series

When I first started, a lot of people didn't think I was good. So when I struck guys out, it just changed how people went into the game. When you throw a fastball and know that you can control it, or you throw a first strike and they swing and miss—or can't swing at all—it's a good feeling. It's like taking a bite in a really good slice of pizza. Once you take that bite, everything else is plain and simple, and you enjoy it.

Mae Jemison

First woman of color in space

Being first gives you a responsibility—you have a public platform, and you must choose how to use it. I use mine to help folks become more comfortable with the idea that science is integral to our world. I vowed that I would talk about my work and ask other women about theirs—the nitty-gritty details. These conversations are critical.

Oprah Winfrey

First woman to own and produce her own talk show

I remember going to my bosses once we were syndicated. I was making a lot of money, and my producers were still getting the same salary. I went to my then boss and said, "Everybody needs a raise." He said, "Why?" I said, "Because we're now a national show, and I'm making money." And he actually said to me, "They're a bunch of girls. What do they need more money for?" That was such fuel for me. When it happened again seven years later in Chicago, I go, "I will not work unless they get paid more money." And they did.

Nancy Pelosi

First woman to become Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

When I ran for leadership, some of my colleagues—even as enlightened as some of them are—would say things like, "Who said she could run?" As if I needed anybody's permission. And, "Maybe you could just make a list of things you want the men to do, and we'll do them for you."

(Pictured clockwise from top left)

Ilhan Omar

First Somali-American Muslim person to become a legislator

Somalia is a majority black Muslim country and so is the camp in Kenya. When you're growing up in an environment where your faith and your race are not topics of conversation, it's really hard to come to an environment where all of that means something. Being black in the U.S. means something. There's a history. Being an immigrant, a refugee, Muslim—all of those things represent an otherness that is not typical or easily confined into the social fabric of this country.

Jennifer Yuh Nelson

First woman to solo-direct a major Hollywood animated feature

I've been asked about the glass ceiling a lot, and I don't think of myself as some kind of crusader going around smashing glass. I don't feel like I had to do that—and that is a very, very strong flag showing the people around me made it so I didn't have to. My producer for the first *Kung Fu Panda* movie, Melissa Cobb, is an amazing woman. Strong, supersmart and helps everyone. When you talk about glass ceilings, she put me in a catapult and threw me at it.

Kathryn Sullivan

First American woman to walk in space

All six of us in that first batch of women felt a self-imposed pressure. One of us would be the first to fly, another would be the first to do a spacewalk—which only a small group of the Astronaut Corps gets to do. We knew our performance would have a big influence on the prospects of the women who would come after us. I was thrilled to be tapped, but the "first female spacewalker" tag really didn't matter to me. It was *my* first spacewalk.

Ellen DeGeneres

First person to star as an openly gay character on prime-time TV

When I came out, it made sense that the character on my sitcom *Ellen* would come out too … To have Laura Dern play my girlfriend, and to have Oprah Winfrey be my therapist. It was the greatest thing in the world. And it was everything that I feared that it would be, which is that I would lose my show and my career. And it was also the greatest thing that could have happened, because it sent me on a different trajectory, and here I am now.

Melinda Gates

First woman to give away more than $40 billion

I wouldn't say that the world sees women's issues as "soft" issues anymore. If I'm at the U.N., there are many Prime Ministers speaking about girls' education these days, because they want their whole society to work. If girls participate in economic opportunities, it'll change their countries. We need to unlock the potential for girls and women to let them fully participate.

Selena Gomez

First person to reach 100 million followers on Instagram

My mom is the kind of person who understands what hard work is. She was still in high school when she had me. She worked multiple jobs. But she made me feel like I was capable of doing anything I wanted, maybe because she didn't really have that opportunity. She taught me everything I know. How I'm no less but also no greater than anyone. How when people come at you with their worst, you should come at them with your best.

(Pictured clockwise from top left)

'The notion that women might menstruate in orbit drove the whole place up the wall.'

KATHRYN SULLIVAN

‘I don’t want anyone to be discouraged by my defeat. We can’t give up trying.’

Hillary Rodham Clinton

First woman to win a major party’s nomination for President of the United States

Being the first of any adventure or achievement does have added pressure. You want to be the first to open the door to others, and you hope you’re not the last.

My husband had a powerful story to tell about his upbringing and his background, and Barack Obama had a unique and powerful story to tell. Few people would find my story quite so compelling or dazzling because I came of age as a young woman in the middle of the country in the middle of the last century. But I think my story, like the stories of so many women of my time, is as inspiring as any other—and it really is the story of a revolution. I came of age at a time when things were starting to change dramatically for women.

Sexism still exerts a pull on our lives and our choices. It is a very subtle but clear challenge that has to be acknowledged and confronted. So we have to be doing all we can to open the aperture of understanding and acceptance. My gender is my gender. My voice is my voice. I love to quote the first woman in a presidential Cabinet—Frances Perkins, who served under FDR—who said, “The accusation that I am a woman is incontrovertible.” So embrace that, and be proud of it.

This past election was unprecedented in so many ways: you had the unprecedented intervention by an FBI director, you had a foreign adversary successfully influence the election. You had voter suppression aimed primarily at African Americans and young voters. You had sexism, which was front and center.

I don’t want anyone to be discouraged by my defeat or say they shouldn’t try or support others who will try. We can’t give up trying.

The fight was worth it.

Ann Dunwoody

First woman to rise to four-star general in the U.S. military

Throughout my career I found that we want the best and the brightest on our team, whether you're male or female. When you can run faster than the guys, when you can do more push-ups, they don't look at you and say, "Oh, we don't want you on our team." They go, "Wow!"

Maya Lin

First woman to design a memorial on the National Mall

When I won the competition to design the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, it was anonymous. You were a number. I was 1,026. To this day I have to wonder, had my name been out there, would that have made any difference?

Kathryn Smith

First woman to become a full-time coach in the NFL

One of the Buffalo Bills owners is a woman, Kim Pegula. When the announcement of my position was made last year, Kim texted me, "Don't let it be about being female. Do the best job you can. Show them through doing a great job that you deserve to be in this spot."

Ava DuVernay

First black woman to direct a film nominated for a Best Picture Oscar

I think there have been cracks made in the glass ceiling by women who can get close enough to hit it with the weapon of their presence. But I'm mostly bolstered by folks who create their own ceilings.

Elizabeth Blackburn

First woman to be president of the Salk Institute

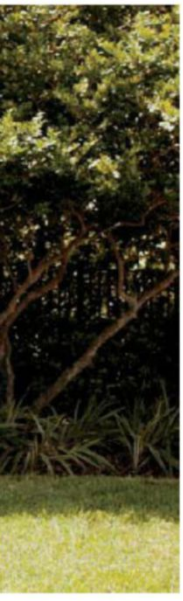
When somebody like me can be visible as a Nobel laureate, it says, "Look, there is such a possibility." There are eight living women who have Nobel Prizes in the sciences, and we ought to be seen. I sometimes see the glass ceiling in the number of women nominated for recognition. Men seem much more likely to be recognized, even if they are working on a team with a woman. So we have to say, "Really? Is it because women contributed so little?" There's plenty of evidence against that.

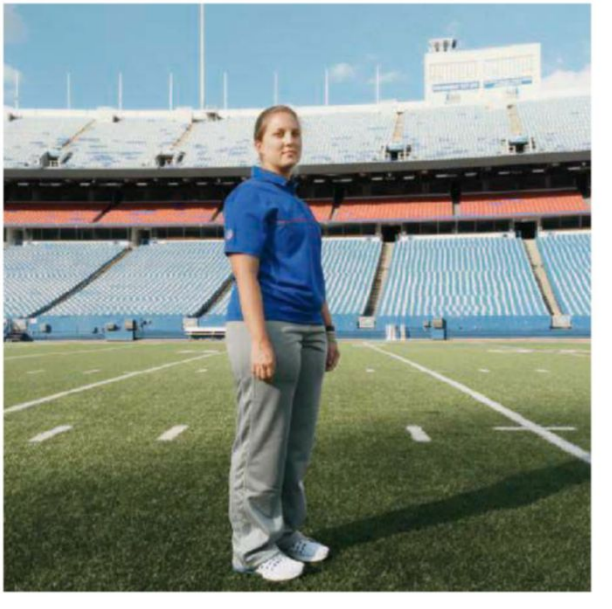
Michelle Phan

First woman to build a $500 million company from a web series

I was very motivated at a young age to find a better life for my mom's sake. She wanted me to be a doctor, but I didn't see myself in that future. I promised her that I would take care of her but that I would still pursue what I loved.

(Pictured clockwise from top left)





Nikki Haley

First Indian-American woman to be elected governor

We were the only Indian family in town. My father wore a turban, my mother wore a sari, and we were different. But my parents always said that the things that make you different make you special. When we would come home complaining that we had been teased, my mom would say, "Your job is not to show people how you're different. It's to show them how you're similar."

Issa Rae

First black woman to create and star in a premium cable series

Hearing positive feedback from black girls, black guys and then everyone else was an "aha" moment: they're relating to black people. But I still get responses from people who think that because I have a show about two black women, I have to represent all black women. Obviously, we're not a monolith—we're not trying to be the end-all, be-all for black women's experiences in the United States.

Eileen Collins

First woman to command a space shuttle

The Air Force was testing whether women could succeed as military pilots. We obviously were living in a fishbowl—everyone knew who we were, our personal business, our test scores and our flight performance. My philosophy was to be the best pilot I could be. If the first women did poorly, that could have caused the cancellation of the program.

Danica Patrick

First woman to lead in the Indy 500 and the Daytona 500

I started racing Indy cars when I was 23, and I'm 35 now. When I first started, people asked about being a role model—"What do you have to tell young girls?" And I was like, "I'm a young girl! I don't know." I moved to England when I was 16, in my junior year of high school. I was out of the house, I didn't have my parents around. You learn in a crash-course style how to protect yourself, how to deal with the real world. It's not all kittens and rainbows.

Janet Yellen

First woman to chair the Federal Reserve

Work at the Fed is not abstract. It matters to individuals and families and businesses across the country, whether it is through setting short-term interest rates, overseeing parts of the banking system or helping maintain financial stability. I have felt that same sense of awe and honor and responsibility every day since President Bill Clinton first nominated me in 1994.

(Pictured clockwise from top left)

nature's bakery
SUNOCO
Aspen Dental
Coca-Cola
nature's bakery
nature's bakery

Ursula Burns

First black woman to run a Fortune *500 company*

I grew up as an engineer in math and science, where it is mostly men. Mostly white men. All white men. All men. Difference is generally better. So you take the gender and the race differences and use them as a strength. They become a positive. You can perform as well as they can perform—or better—and you will be noticed.

Rachel Maddow

First openly gay anchor to host a prime-time news program

A lot of what happens on cable news is, people debate about the news in pairs and in groups. I get the same sexist condescension that all women face in every environment. I don't think I get more of it than anybody else. But what happens on the air happens out in the open.

Lori Robinson

First woman to lead a top-tier U.S. Combat Command, including NORAD

I've been privileged to be the first at many things. I'm a general, a commander, an airman. And I happen to be a woman. When I put the fact of being a woman as more important than the institution, then I've done a disservice to the institution. But I realize I'm a role model. When I walk onto bases, a ton of folks come up to me and say, "Ma'am, this is so awesome."

Sheryl Sandberg

First woman to become a social-media billionaire

I came into the workforce in 1991. I looked beside me: equal men and women. The women were just as smart, sometimes smarter (no offense, gentlemen). I looked above me, and it was men. I figured, "O.K., that's historical discrimination. My generation will change it." But as the years went on, there were fewer and fewer women in the meetings I was in.

Madeleine Albright

First woman to become U.S. Secretary of State

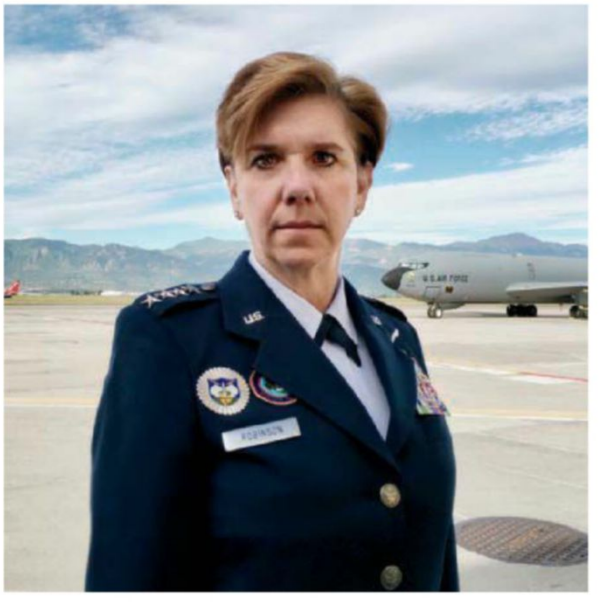
We need to support each other in the lives that we have chosen. Men do not do that to each other, in terms of projecting their own ideas of weakness. Women need to take advantage of being women.

Loretta Lynch

First black woman to become U.S. Attorney General

My father was always fighting a fight for someone. Maybe someone had been denied tenure, or there was a civil rights issue in our town. I saw my father advocate for women to serve in leadership positions in his church. For him, talent could not go unrewarded. So from him I got the view that there were no limitations just because I was a girl.

(Pictured clockwise from top left)



Patricia Bath

First person to invent and demonstrate laserphaco cataract surgery

Sometimes even now when I'm told I was a "first," it comes as a surprise, because it's only through history that you understand that kind of thing. I didn't realize when I joined UCLA in 1974 that I was the first woman in the ophthalmology department. I simply wanted to be part of a great team at an incredible facility. I wasn't seeking to be first. I was just doing my thing, and I wanted to serve humanity along the way—to give the gift of sight.

Rita Moreno

First Latina to win an Emmy, a Grammy, an Oscar and a Tony

There was nobody that I could look up to and say, That's somebody like me. Which is probably why I'm now known in my community as *La Pionera,* or the Pioneer. I really don't think of myself as a role model. But it turns out that I am to a lot of the Hispanic community. Not just in show business, but in life. But that's what happens when you're the first, right?

‘Of course we’re all feminists, right? We all want women to be seen as equals.’

Cindy Sherman

First woman to break $1 million in a photography sale

In an issue of LIFE magazine, I saw Lynda Benglis as a young artist throwing paint on her floor. I don’t know how old she was then. I was probably in high school, but it was the first time it dawned on me that a woman could be an artist.

When my career got started in the ’70s, I did feel like I was being taken seriously. I didn’t really notice any kind of difference between men and women artists until I would say the early ’80s, when specific men started to become very successful. Even though I was critically successful, there was definitely a big distinction between what their work sold for and what my work sold for.

As I evolved in the ’70s, I think I took for granted what the first wave of feminist artists had to go through. I never felt like an activist because I didn’t experience that kind of fighting. It’s not like I would say I’m not a feminist. I just couldn’t quite identify with those women. Of course we’re all feminists, right? We all want women to be seen as equals. I am shy, and I’m not a person who can debate and take on critical political talk. But the same issues definitely piss me off and show up in my work, and I definitely have always used my work as a forum to address a lot of things that I can’t say.

Geisha Williams

First Latina CEO of a Fortune *500 company*

You always hear people talking about what it means to be the first. But I think it's important that we focus on making sure there are others. While I may be the first, I certainly don't want to be the last. If someone else can do it, why not you?

Candis Cayne

First transgender woman with a major role on prime-time TV

I had known that I wanted to be an actor and a performer and a singer and a dancer and do it all, and the only way that I could do that was to do it onstage in the '90s in New York City and perform at the local gay bars. And I realized that if I was going to perform and transition, I had to do it onstage.

Mazie Hirono

First Asian-American woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate

The women of the Senate get together on a regular basis. When the government shutdown happened, you probably saw the story of Susan Collins and others who worked hard to end that impasse. I think it's because women are not as ego-involved in terms of how to get things done.

Carla Hayden

First woman and first African American to be the Librarian of Congress

In terms of being the Librarian of Congress, it's important that a woman is in the position. Librarianship is one of the four "feminized professions." Eighty-five percent of the workforce is female, but men are in most of the directorships and management positions.

Shonda Rhimes

First woman to create three hit shows with more than 100 episodes each

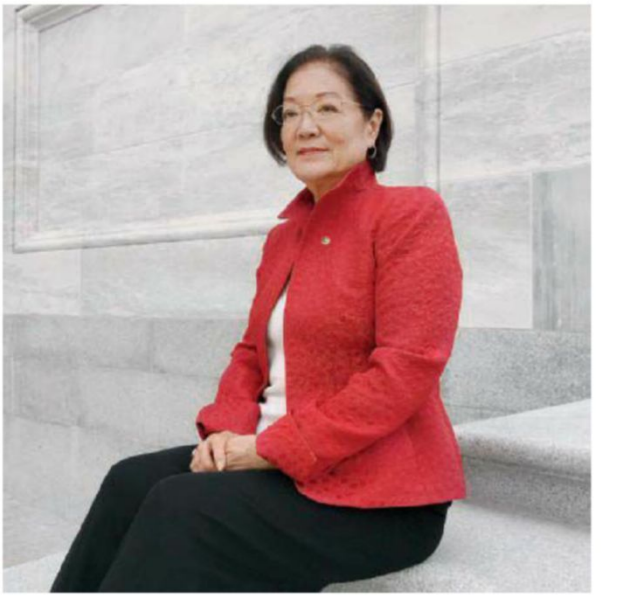
I didn't watch a lot of television before I started writing it, and I wanted to write people I wanted to watch. I was very surprised to discover that people thought Meredith Grey and Cristina Yang were revolutionary—they were like women I knew.

Mary Barra

First woman to become CEO of a major car company

Research has shown that women will look at a new role and say, "Well, I can do these five things, but there are two areas where I don't have experience." Men seem to say, "Hey, I can do five of the seven, I should definitely put myself forward!"

(Pictured clockwise from top left)



Rita Dove

First black U.S. poet laureate

When I was a young poet, my work was considered "slight" by some male critics. The sexist undertone was undeniable, though difficult to corroborate. These things are subtle. It sounds so trivial nowadays, yet the implications could be profound—or so I was told. "To hell with it," was my response. This is who I am. I still wear skirts to readings. And I still like my lipstick!

Kellyanne Conway

First woman to run a winning presidential campaign

I was taught to be a very strong, independent and freethinking woman without ever hearing the words *feminist* or *Republican* or *liberal*. I appreciate that so much, to have not been fed labels and taught definitions, but instead to have been given the foundation upon which to develop my own strengths to my best and highest use throughout my educational, professional and maternal endeavors.

Gabby Douglas

First American gymnast to win solo and team all-around gold medals at one Olympics

When I started this journey, I never knew what it actually took to get to the Olympics. I thought it was: Train. Make it on the team. I had to sacrifice a normal kind of life for gymnastics, but I didn't mind. It takes a lot to be an Olympic athlete. You have to be amazing, and you have to work hard. I have learned from my mom and my sisters to never give up, no matter what the odds look like. My mom used to say, "Inspire a generation."

Katharine Jefferts Schori

First woman to be elected presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church

After I finished seminary, I got a call to go back to the congregation that I'd been a part of. Early on, a couple of older women came up to me and said, "We don't believe in women priests, but you're all right." It's the sense of seeing a real human being exercising a role you hadn't imagined women being in before that really converts hearts. Engendering opposition is a sign of being effective. If there's opposition, it means they're noticing change.

(Pictured clockwise from top left)

'Engendering opposition is a sign of being effective. If there's opposition, it means they're noticing change.'

KATHARINE JEFFERTS SCHORI

Barbara Walters

First woman to co-anchor a network evening news program

The first time I felt like I truly "shattered the glass ceiling" was when I became the first female co-anchor of the *Today* show after climbing the ranks. I felt this same sense of accomplishment when I joined the ABC News family in 1976. I remember the exact moment when I signed my contract: I suddenly realized that my face, as the first female co-anchor, would be in millions of people's homes every night.

Alice Waters

First woman to win the James Beard Award for Outstanding Chef

When I was invited to New York to receive an award, out of 25 chefs, I was the only woman. We each presented a dish. All of the men had fancy French dishes. I had brought a salad. I will never forget how self-conscious I was. I kept saying, "I borrowed the bowl from James Beard, I made the vinaigrette." It was excruciating to think I had been so naive. And yet when they reviewed the dishes, all they talked about was the salad.

‘To hear that we as women should thank the men … I was like, Wait a minute!’

Serena Williams

First tennis player to win 23 Grand Slam singles titles in the open era

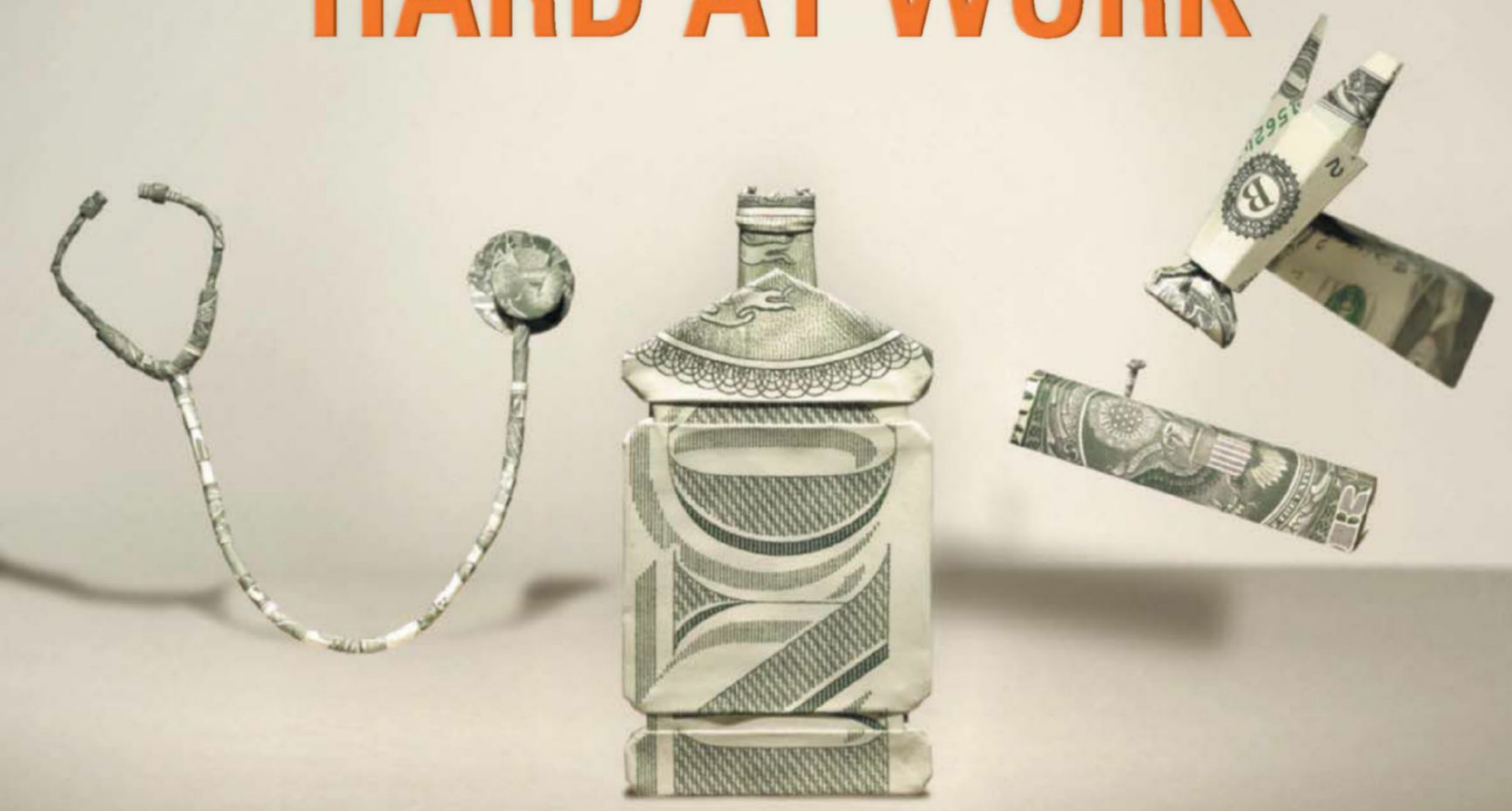
I think the biggest criticism that I have received, along with my female peers, is when someone says that we don’t deserve as much prize money as our male counterparts. In 2016, the CEO of Indian Wells said women players ride on the coattails of men, and thanked certain male players for carrying the sport. I have been in so many finals, either when I played my sister or other opponents, that were the most watched finals in the history of the tournament. So to hear that we as women should thank the men … I was like, Wait a minute!

I see these young women, including myself, who are working so hard and training for hours and hours every day just to have the opportunity to go out on the court and play their best. There shouldn’t be any double standard.

My sister and I boycotted Indian Wells for 14 years due to a separate, unfortunate experience. But when I did return, in 2015, I saw so many people—young kids, young black girls—so excited to see me. One girl was holding up a sign that read STRAIGHT OUTTA COMPTON—that’s where my sister and I first learned how to play tennis. To see that little girl having the dream to play tennis too was incredible. In that moment, I realized my presence there was helping people. I was able to embrace that moment and fully appreciate it.

For extended interviews with all 46 women, visit **time.com/firsts**

IN THE WAKE OF HURRICANE HARVEY YOUR DOLLARS ARE HARD AT WORK



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2017 FALL PERFORMANCES

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in director Darren Aronofsky's darkly thrilling *mother!*

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ILLUSTRATIONS BY TRACIE CHING FOR TIME

MICHELLE PFEIFFER AS A NEFARIOUS HOUSE GUEST

BY ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

Pfeiffer, 59, returns to the big screen alongside Jennifer Lawrence, Javier Bardem and Ed Harris in writer-director Darren Aronofsky's new film mother! *(Sept. 15). She plays a boundary-challenged visitor whose sudden appearance throws a young woman's tranquil rural life into disarray. Like Aronofsky's previous work* (Pi, Black Swan), mother! *is dark and challenging and riveting. This time, he has created a puzzle within a Hieronymus Bosch–style fever dream.*

No spoilers, but what was your reaction to reading the* mother! *script for the first time? It was very disturbing, very provocative. It was unlike anything I had ever read.

Most of the film takes place in one house. It's very intimate, almost like watching a play. What was it like to make? It was a very different experience—even the rehearsal process. [For reference] Darren actually filmed the entire movie on his iPhone during rehearsals. And that is something that I would never have really allowed. I never like behind-the-scenes filming because it destroys the element of entering another world.

But I went along with it. We all just trusted Darren. He was able to do these impossible shots that went on forever, going through hallways and upstairs and downstairs. And we were jumping over cables and hiding behind the camera and coming into camera. It was thrilling.

Aronofsky has said he tried to channel the anxiety of our current times. Is that how the film feels to you? Yes. Sometimes I have this nightmare where I am trying to warn people around me of some impending doom, some disaster that is about to happen. No one is listening to me. The entire dream is trying to find my way out, trying to convince people. This film feels like that to me. I think it's Darren going, "Wake up!"

You've navigated Hollywood very deftly. Did you and Lawrence discuss your career paths? Did you offer her any advice? She is so refreshingly unfiltered and honest. At first I was a little bit thrown by it, because I'm the opposite. I'm so guarded and careful. But she's doing really well. She doesn't need advice from me.

You're also starring with Kenneth Branagh in* Murder on the Orient Express *(Nov. 10). Were you an Agatha Christie fan before being cast? Murder mystery is not my thing. But now I want to go back and read more of her. Of course, I read the book and asked Ken if I should see the other film [directed by Sidney Lumet in 1974]. He encouraged me not to, because he wanted the actors to bring fresh eyes, fresh instincts to their part. Now I'm afraid to see it, because I'm sure Lauren Bacall did something really amazing, and I'm going to think, Oh my God, I should have done that!

You'll be in Marvel's* Ant-Man and the Wasp *next summer. How have things changed for women in the superhero genre since you played Catwoman in* Batman Returns *in 1992? I'm particularly excited for a woman of my generation to come into this world and kick some ass. Of course, *Wonder Woman* was exceptional. It's very empowering to see women in these roles.

People have called 2017 your "comeback" year. Is that accurate? It's so weird. I didn't really go away. But I do have a lot of work coming out in a condensed period. Throughout my career, it's always been this way. I'll go three years without work and then—all of a sudden—it's *bam, bam, bam.* So I don't know. I guess it is?

'IT WAS VERY DISTURBING, VERY PROVOCATIVE. IT WAS UNLIKE ANYTHING I HAD EVER READ.'

LARRY DAVID AS THE SOCIAL CRITIC STILL IN THE RIGHT

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

Fans of uncomfortably charged confrontations over social niceties: the wait is over. After a six-year hiatus, Curb Your Enthusiasm *will return to HBO on Oct. 1. Creator and star Larry David, 70, spent the break starring in his play* Fish in the Dark *on Broadway and, during the last election cycle, appearing on* Saturday Night Live *as Bernie Sanders. The plot of* Curb*'s ninth season is closely guarded, but David's delight in causing chaos among his Angeleno neighbors will surely remain unchanged.*

Why is the plot of the new season under such lock and key? When I go see something, I don't want to know anything about it. So I'm just pretending I'm the audience, and I would prefer that they just come in completely fresh and not know anything. Why know the story before you start watching?

What do you think Larry the character has learned over the course of the show? Every day confirms, more and more, he's right! He's right about everything; he's rarely, rarely wrong. And when he is, he apologizes. I think a lot of people are afraid to apologize. I love to apologize. I was raised to apologize. My mother insisted always. Even if I was 100% right, she would insist, "Larry, you be the man, go ahead. Tell him you're sorry!" But I didn't do anything! "I don't care. Tell him you're sorry!"

In a world that's ruder than it was when* Curb *launched in 2000, do you feel as though it's gotten harder to push boundaries? No, everything still feels the same. To me, the world is definitely more politically correct now than it was, but I think people who like the show don't want to see political correctness on this show.

When the show isn't in production and you experience a slight in your life, does it feel harder to let go because you don't have that outlet? It is. But when things happen to me, I write them down. I'll use them eventually, at some point. I carry around a little pad with me. I carried around a pad for years, and then when I got a cell phone, I stopped carrying the pad and started writing them on the cell phone. People thought that I was texting and I was being rude, so then I went back to the pad. You don't want to be called a millennial. "You're acting like a millennial." That is not a good thing to be called.

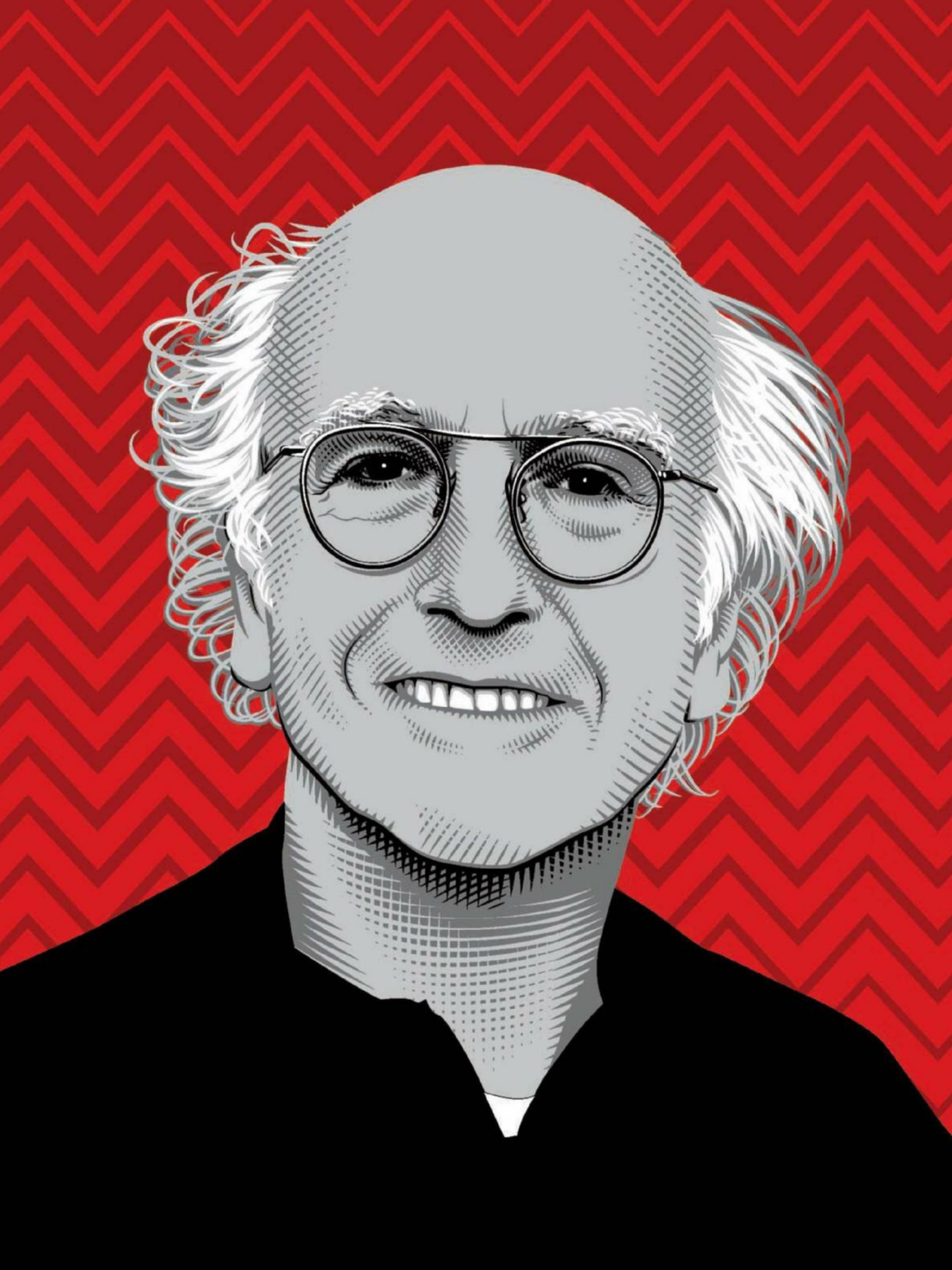
Your daughter Cazzie David is a millennial and has her own web series, which she co-created and stars in. What has it been like watching her join the business? It's pretty amazing. I've never been that happy for another person in my life. It's great—I'm her biggest fan. You know, she's doing this all on her own and she lets me see the shows when she's done. I have no input or contribution. I'm really proud of her.

Who are the stand-up comics coming up today whom you admire? I don't get to see too many stand-ups. I don't watch concerts on Netflix and things like that. I don't know too much of what's going on in pop culture. I don't really see a lot.

Do you think there could ever be a point when you'd be interested in walking away from the show? I think there comes a point when people do not want to see an old man on television! I think there does come a point. So I don't know when that point is coming, but it's not far off.

One thing we do know about Season 9: Bryan Cranston, whom you worked with on* Seinfeld*, has a role. He plays my therapist. Unfortunately for him.

'I THINK A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE AFRAID TO APOLOGIZE. I LOVE TO APOLOGIZE. I WAS RAISED TO APOLOGIZE.'



ESPERANZA SPALDING AS A REAL-TIME INNOVATOR

BY RAISA BRUNER

On Sept. 12 at noon E.T., a corner of Facebook will flicker to life, and over the next 77 live-streamed hours, Esperanza Spalding will write and record her next album, Exposure. *Guest musicians are likely to drop in, and viewers will be able to chat with the record's creator during an event that will be the first of its kind. You might call it a stunt—if Spalding weren't at the helm. The 32-year-old Grammy-winning singer-songwriter and jazz bassist has come to be known as a prodigy's prodigy for good reason.*

How did you come up with this concept? Two months ago, I felt a strong urge to make and disseminate whatever the hell I actually am. In some ways, this is filled with the hope that this will be cathartic for me as a person and as a creator to dive into an environment where the only thing I can do is just be me. And to let whatever's coming out at the moment be seen, heard and developed.

Also, I realized I'm best at improvising when there's no time for me to assess, judge, second-guess or even plan. In my experience, the more time that goes by between inspiration striking and that inspiration being developed and formulated and mixed and refined for public consumption, the further we get from the magic that was in the initial hit of inspiration.

Makes sense. Improvisation has a rich legacy in jazz. I've been spending a lot of time with Wayne Shorter over the past few years, and I see him as my mentor—my guru, so to speak, as a creator. He taught me a lot about the benefits of approaching communication, performance, composition, solos, melodies and lyrics without an agenda. You have to be willing to respond to completely unexpected stimulus. I've really taken this philosophy to heart.

Who do you want to listen to this music? I don't know! Anybody who would like to listen. I guess that's part of what we'll find out: who likes this music.

Seventy-seven hours. What's the significance of the number seven to you? First of all, I just like the number and always have. Then I was in this elevator with this reverend at a hotel, and we were going to the seventh floor. He said, "Seven is a divine number. It's the number of completion. It represents the earthly culmination of a divine thought." He got off the elevator, and I thought, I love that. The premise of this project is that all the facets of us as creators only need the right environment to coalesce into completeness.

As an artist, do you feel pressure to have a certain political perspective or to stand for something? No, I don't. You might hear a few comments that are loud, or you might hear something from your manager or your label, or a statistics report about who listens to you on Spotify. But it's not possible to get a comprehensive picture of how people perceive you and then keep responding to that. Hopefully, the accumulated sum of my work will speak on its own, despite whatever role I'm perceived as playing.

Which contemporary artists inspire you? I admire Tune-Yards and Nicholas Payton. I listen to a lot of MF Doom. And Geri Allen. I've been listening to her almost every day for many hours, because she recently passed.

You've said that music was an important part of your early childhood education, and this year you were appointed a professor of the practice of music at Harvard. What has returning to academia been like? I love being surrounded by knowledge and that hunger to disseminate it, to absorb it and to apply it.

'YOU HAVE TO BE WILLING TO RESPOND TO COMPLETELY UNEXPECTED STIMULUS.'

EDIE FALCO AS AN ATTORNEY RIPPED FROM THE HEADLINES

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

She's been a mob matriarch (The Sopranos) *and a pill pusher* (Nurse Jackie). *Falco, 54, is no stranger to playing morally complex characters. On NBC's* Law & Order True Crime: The Menendez Murders *(Sept. 26), she portrays Leslie Abramson, the controversial defense attorney who represented Lyle and Erik Menendez in the mid-'90s before they were convicted of murdering their parents.* Law & Order, *which made drama out of thinly veiled tabloid crime, is now embracing true crime without filter.*

You played a recurring character on* Law & Order *from 1993 to 1998. How does the new version differ from the original flavor? Certainly every actor who works in New York has done a *Law & Order,* so it's a very big club that I'm a member of. This one's a very different animal. They're putting a lot of time and effort into the story. It's more like a bunch of movies, frankly.

You haven't met her, but do you feel a responsibility to Abramson? She's a real person with a real reputation. What I have is the script, which was done with a great deal of care. A lot of the words are taken straight from her mouth, from testimony and such. The words are her own. The interpretation is mine, based on what I know about her. I feel a responsibility to the story, and I feel a responsibility to the accuracy of her place in it. It is not going to be an imitation of Leslie Abramson.

But in terms of learning about her, did you watch the old Court TV tapes of the trial? I sure did. Many, many, many of them. It's not like I'm doing the story of Michael Jackson where everyone knows what he looked like, the way he moved, the way he sounded. I think it's more important that people know who she was in this particular case.

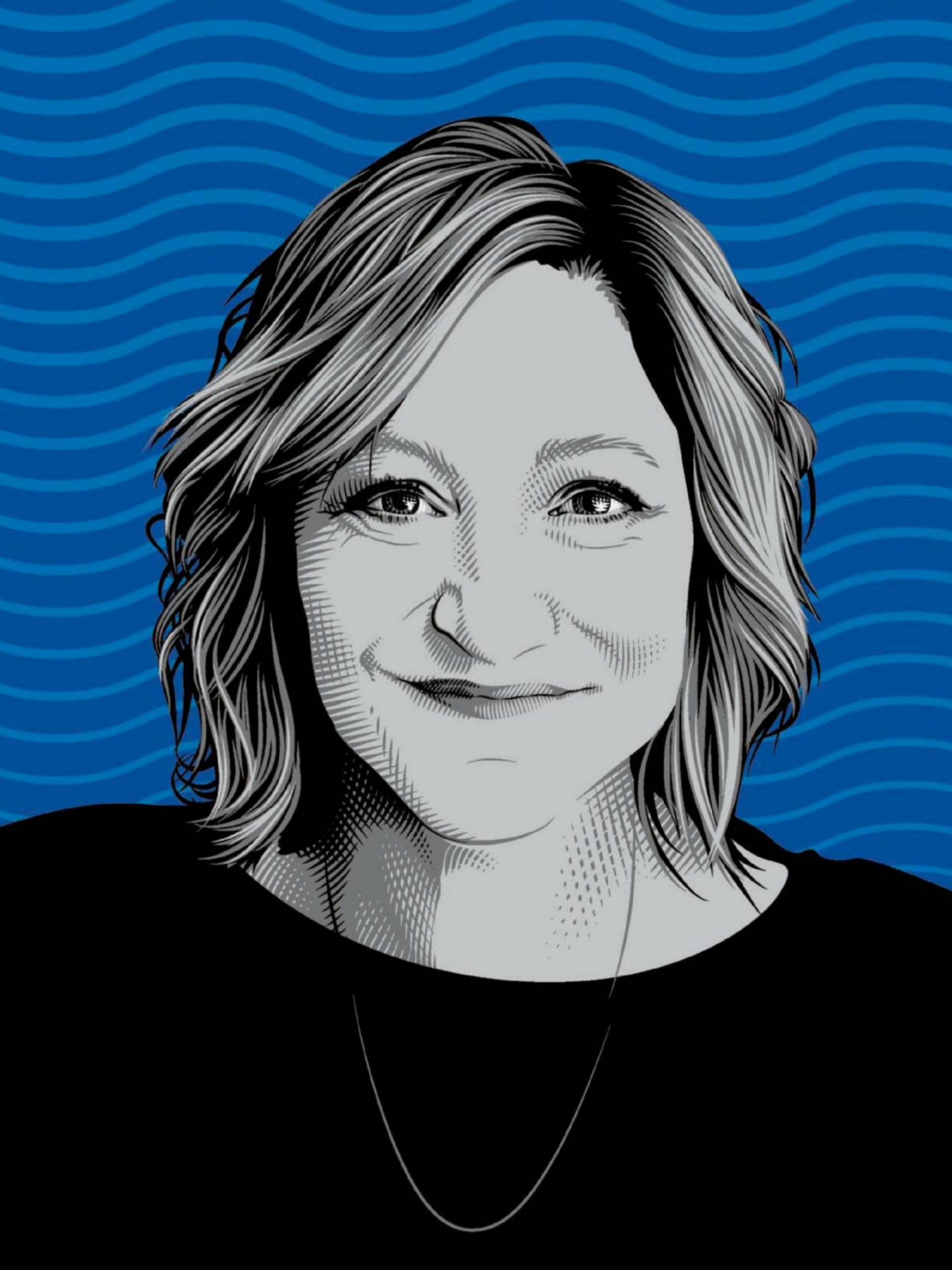
Why this story now? What does it say about society? It's about larger issues. One is corruption, one is the circumstances in Los Angeles at that time and how they played into the outcome of this case. We are dealing with two men who are still in jail for the rest of their lives. Those are real lives, as were the lives of their parents, whom they killed. There are so many subtleties as far as the punishment fitting the crime that we as a country, as a justice system, don't look into.

Defense attorneys tend to get a bad rap because people often see those accused of heinous crimes as effectively indefensible. She did not have to believe in their innocence in order to represent them. That was dictated by law. I think it's a commendable job—each of these people are human beings. Regardless of what they may or may not have done, they need to be treated like human beings.

True crime is experiencing a renaissance, from the* Serial *podcast to* Making a Murderer *on Netflix. Are you a fan of the genre? For as long as I can remember! I've been obsessed with *Forensic Files* and those sorts of documentary-ish TV shows for years and years. I wonder what it is that makes a good person bad or what goes on in the homes of people you never knew were existing at the same time as you. The secret lives of humans are fascinating. That's why I have no patience for surface-level depictions of people's lives.

Why return to TV now? If this had been a play, it would be a play I'd be doing right now. I'm not making a conscious decision about whether it's a good time to do TV. I've never known what's a good time to do anything. It's never something I've had my finger on the pulse of. If there's a good script and good people are involved, that's where I'm going.

'IF THERE'S A GOOD SCRIPT AND GOOD PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED, THAT'S WHERE I'M GOING.'



ANTHONY GONZALEZ AS AN EXPLORER OF THE AFTERLIFE

BY SARAH BEGLEY

Pixar has always understood that kids' movies aren't just for kids—as any adult who's ever tried to keep it together through the beginning of Up *or the ending of* Inside Out *can attest. The storied animation studio's next film,* Coco *(Nov. 22), tells the story of a 12-year-old aspiring musician who travels to—and must escape—the Land of the Dead during Día de Muertos, the traditional Mexican holiday. Naturally, the studio cast an unknown 12-year-old aspiring musician to play the character.*

How did you first get involved with this movie? I auditioned, and it was a long process—about a year. Eventually, I went to the Pixar headquarters in Emeryville, Calif., to do scratch [or preliminary test] voices. Then last Christmas, they said they had a present for me and brought me this box. I opened it and there was this beautiful piece of artwork that just said YOU GOT THE PART. I was so shocked, I just fell to the floor. I couldn't believe it.

You play Miguel, a boy with a magical guitar who meets his long-lost relatives in the afterlife. How did you get into character? I didn't really need to get into character because I identify with him. We both love music, we both have a big family.

Coco is deeply influenced by Mexican heritage. Is your family Mexican? Yes, I have a couple of people in my family who are Mexican.

Are you planning to celebrate Día de Muertos, which takes place at the end of October, this year? Of course! I'm going to celebrate with my family. We remember those who passed away. The Day of the Dead is a joyful celebration when you can connect with and remember your ancestors.

Will you be thinking of anyone in particular this year? I did lose my grandfather. He was special. He would tell me jokes, and he'd always be there to support me. I do wish I'd get the chance to see him again, because he was very special to my heart.

I hear you grew up performing mariachi music? Yeah, it all started with my two sisters. They love singing, so they went to sing in la Placita Olvera [a historic district in downtown Los Angeles]. As time went on, my older brother got into it as well. And then, I'm next.

That sounds very different from your character in the film. His family thinks music is taboo. The family doesn't support his singing because of things that happened in the past. He has to keep his passion a secret.

What's your favorite Pixar movie, besides Coco? I love all the *Toy Story* movies. I'm just so shocked and thankful to be part of the Disney/Pixar family, because it's a big deal!

Isn't it weird to think your character might become a toy? I want to have a whole collection of them because it'll be so amazing to, like, hear my voice in a little toy. They're going to be doing a guitar, which will motivate me to learn how to play well.

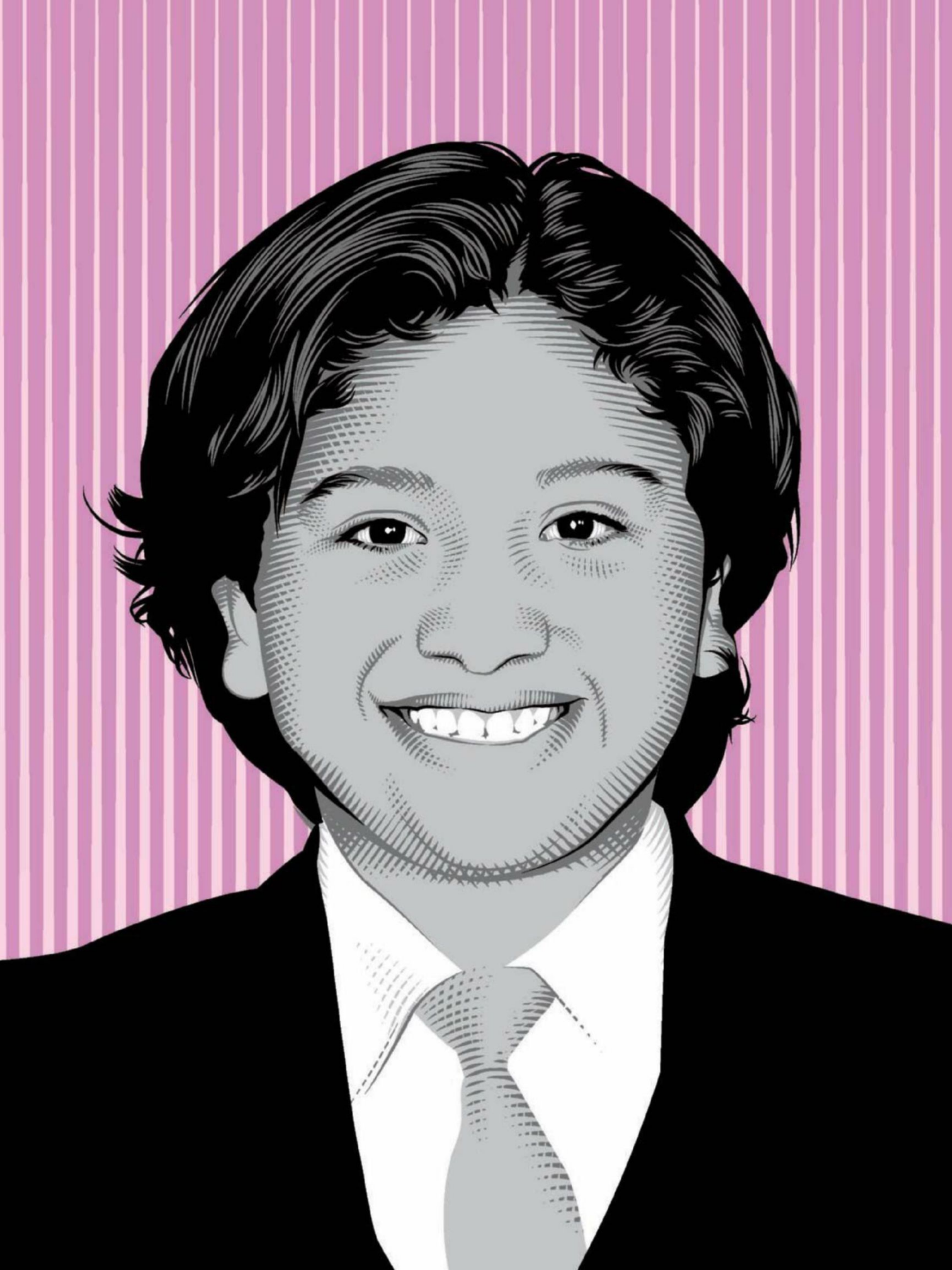
What's your favorite song right now? In the movie?

In life. Pop song or mariachi?

Either. I love pop songs. One that I've heard a lot is "Shape of You" by Ed Sheeran. I also love mariachi songs by Alejandro Fernandez and Vicente Fernandez.

You're about to become a movie star in the eighth grade. That must be a big change. What are your obligations at home like? Well, of course I have to clean my room and sometimes wash the dishes. And do a lot of other cleaning, because my brothers, they leave a mess. But me too, me too. I have to admit I'm guilty of that too.

'I DIDN'T REALLY NEED TO GET INTO CHARACTER BECAUSE I IDENTIFY WITH HIM. WE BOTH LOVE MUSIC.'



CALENDAR

MOVIES

9.8
It
Stephen King's terrorizing clown gets the big-screen treatment in a contemporary remake.

9.15
mother!
Javier Bardem and Jennifer Lawrence are living an idyllic life—until disruptive houseguests (Michelle Pfeiffer, Ed Harris) begin piling in.

9.22
Battle of the Sexes
Emma Stone plays tennis champ Billie Jean King.

Kingsman: The Golden Circle
The sequel to the winking, ultra-violent 2015 spy blockbuster arrives.

Stronger
Jake Gyllenhaal stars as a victim of the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing.

Victoria & Abdul
Dame Judi Dench plays a cantankerous Queen Victoria, opposite Bollywood star Ali Fazal.

9.29
American Made
Tom Cruise is a TWA pilot who becomes a drug smuggler in the 1970s.

Our Souls at Night
Jane Fonda and Robert Redford reunite, this time as widowed neighbors.

10.6
Blade Runner 2049
Ryan Gosling picks up the story 30 years later.

The Florida Project
Writer-director Sean Baker *(Tangerine)* sets this story in the shadow of Disney's Magic Kingdom.

10.13
Goodbye Christopher Robin
Winnie-the-Pooh creator A.A. Milne's life story—and his inspiring relationship with his son—comes to the big screen.

Marshall
After playing Jackie Robinson *(42)* and James Brown *(Get on Up)*, Chadwick Boseman becomes Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.

The Meyerowitz Stories (New and Selected)
Adam Sandler and Dustin Hoffman star in this family saga.

10.20
Wonderstruck

In Todd Haynes' adaptation of Brian Selznick's 2011 best seller, starring Julianne Moore, two children separated by 50 years travel to Manhattan.

10.27
Suburbicon
George Clooney directs a Coen brothers story about a suburban couple whose lives are upended.

11.3
Last Flag Flying
Director Richard Linklater tells the story of three Vietnam veterans who reunite decades after the war.

LBJ
Woody Harrelson takes on the 36th President.

Thor: Ragnarok
Marvel's third *Thor* adds a villainous Cate Blanchett.

11.10
Murder on the Orient Express
Kenneth Branagh directs and stars in this adaptation of the Agatha Christie classic.

Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri
Frances McDormand is a bereaved mother on a mission to find her daughter's killer.

11.17
Justice League
Wonder Woman, Batman and Superman join forces.

Mudbound
Dee Rees directs this epic tale of two Mississippi farming families in the 1940s.

Wonder
A family-friendly adaptation of R.J. Palacio's 2012 novel about a brave young boy.

11.22
Coco
Pixar takes on the Day of the Dead.

Darkest Hour
Gary Oldman disappears into the visage of Winston Churchill.

Molly's Game
Aaron Sorkin adapts the memoir of Molly Bloom, who ran an illegal poker empire.

11.24
Call Me by Your Name
A charged coming-of-age story about first love.

TELEVISION

9.10
The Deuce
The Wire creator David Simon returns to HBO with a story of 1970s Times Square.

9.13
Broad City
Abbi Jacobson and Ilana Glazer light up for a fourth season on Comedy Central. The city's the same, but the broads have new problems (including post-election depression).

9.17
The Vietnam War
Ken Burns' 18-hour documentary debuts on PBS.

9.24
Star Trek: Discovery
The series, airing on streaming service CBS All Access, takes place before the 1960s *Star Trek*. Michelle Yeoh as captain and Sonequa Martin-Green as first officer take charge.

9.25
The Good Doctor
Freddie Highmore, *Bates Motel*'s Norman, puts his flair for creepiness to benevolent use on ABC as a surgeon whose lack of warmth belies his remarkable gift for diagnosis.

Me, Myself & I
On this CBS sitcom, Bobby Moynihan plays Alex Riley as the story flashes to the character's past and future.

MOTHER!: PARAMOUNT; GOODBYE CHRISTOPHER ROBIN: FOX; WONDERSTRUCK: ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS; BROAD CITY: CHRISTOPHER SAUNDERS—COMEDY CENTRAL; SHE'S GOTTA HAVE IT, STRANGER THINGS: NETFLIX; ST. VINCENT, LOVATO, BECK: GETTY IMAGES

9.26
Law & Order True Crime: The Menendez Murders
One of the most incendiary crime stories of the 1990s comes to NBC.

9.28
Will & Grace
The NBC sitcom—revolutionary in its heyday—returns to a reshaped world. Which means there are 11 years of social change to pun off of.

10.1
Ten Days in the Valley
Kyra Sedgwick breaks down as she tries to find her kidnapped daughter on this inside-Hollywood story from ABC.

Ghosted
Adam Scott and Craig Robinson play frenemies who are forced to investigate the supernatural on Fox.

Curb Your Enthusiasm
Larry David and company return, presumably with plenty to kvetch about.

10.2
The Gifted
Fox's series uses the *X-Men* franchise as source material to tell a story about a family with special powers that is on the run.

10.3
The Mayor
An aspiring rapper (Brandon Micheal Hall) decides to run for mayor of his town to get attention. What could go wrong?

10.13
Mindhunter
This 1970s-set FBI drama investigates the inner workings of serial killers, with agents played by Jonathan Groff and Holt McCallany, on Netflix.

10.27
Stranger Things
The kids of Hawkins, Ind., are back for another season of Netflix's period-appropriate thrills and chills.

11.23
She's Gotta Have It
Spike Lee directs every episode of this Netflix adaptation of his 1986 debut film.

THEATER

10.26
M. Butterfly
Julie Taymor directs Clive Owen in this revival of the 1988 Tony Award winner.

11.2
Junk
Pulitzer winner Ayad Akhtar wrote this Wall Street thriller.

11.9
The Band's Visit
Transitioning from off-Broadway to the Great White Way with its star Tony Shalhoub *(Monk)* is this musical about an Egyptian police band stranded in the Israeli desert, adapted from the critically acclaimed 2007 film.

11.29
Meteor Shower
Amy Schumer makes her Broadway debut in a comedy about marriage from Steve Martin.

11.30
The Parisian Woman
Uma Thurman plays a socialite after the 2016 election in this play by *House of Cards* creator Beau Willimon.

MUSIC

9.12
***Exposure*, Esperanza Spalding**
Improvisational jazz, live-streamed on Facebook.

9.15
***New Magic*, Son Little**
The Philadelphia-based rhythm-and-blues artist returns for his second full-length album.

9.22
***Gemini*, Macklemore**
The rapper's latest album features collaborations with the likes of Lil Yachty and Skylar Grey.

9.29
***Tell Me You Love Me*, Demi Lovato**
The full-length album that gave birth to summer hit "Sorry Not Sorry" arrives.

***Now*, Shania Twain**
It's been 15 years since the queen of crossover country has released a new studio album.

10.6
***Take Me Apart*, Kelela**
The singer, who has been compared to Solange and Björk, releases her debut full-length album.

10.13
***Colors*, Beck**
The singer's 13th studio album takes on the way we live now.

***Kids in Love*, KYGO**
The Norwegian DJ and producer's second album amps up his tropical house sound with help from Ellie Goulding and Selena Gomez.

***MASSEDUCATION*, St. Vincent**
The avant-garde singer-songwriter returns with more of her catchy art-pop.

11.10
***Reputation*, Taylor Swift**
The album's lead single, "Look What You Made Me Do," proclaims that the old Taylor Swift is "dead."

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It takes a disaster to remind us of our common humanity. Let's not forget that too soon

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

WE'VE ALL BEEN THINKING ABOUT HOW TO HELP TEXAS after the unfathomable devastation of Hurricane Harvey. But after watching the way the people of that state have responded to this vast tragedy, I think that Texas might save the rest of us too. There's been so much ugliness, division and fear on our screens and in our hearts over the past two years that it was getting hard to imagine how we'd ever stitch the country together again. Then a once-in-a-thousand-year storm hit.

Harvey was unprecedented. Even those of us who live far from Houston have been jolted out of our silos. We're so hungry for goodness, for common cause, for reasons to like each other that it's no surprise that we keep watching the video footage from Texas—the scenes of rescue after rescue, kindness after kindness. They are a reminder of something we feared might be extinct: that aspect of America that brims with compassion—the kind that doesn't discriminate.

It's still there. You heard it in the unbelievably gentle way that rescuers spoke to the traumatized people they were hoisting off roofs or into boats. Those responders, volunteers and professionals must have been tired and scared themselves, but they didn't rush, and they treated every person and even the pets as precious, which of course they were.

I can't stop looking at one particular video of a group of men and women, hands clasped in a line across rushing water from the shore to a truck where an older man was trapped. As they coordinated and encouraged each other, you could hear all of Texas in their voices—long Southern vowels, rolling Spanish consonants and a common urgency. The man made his way to dry land braced by that human chain. Once there, he sagged in exhaustion, and a young dark-haired guy stepped up and said, "I'm going to pick you up now, if that's O.K." And then he carried the man to a vehicle like it was an ordinary thing. Just knowing about that bit of kindness feels like a balm for our collective souls in this era of bitter fights and bloated egos.

THERE IS AN INTIMACY to seeing people of every type thrown together without any social trappings. Everyone's intertwined, those onscreen and those watching from afar. Even journalists. A news crew filming from a boat was called to help a fragile elderly couple out of their home. They were tender and careful, calling the man "sir" and telling the woman, who seemed embarrassed, that she looked great. The process of lifting the pair into a boat without hurting them was a slow, riveting drama. Never has moving four feet looked so daunting. And no one was asking whom these people voted for or about tax reform or whether a Confederate statue should be moved.

ILLUSTRATION BY EDEL RODRIGUEZ FOR TIME

Right now, we are feeling like one tribe—one whose members will set out in the dark through filthy, treacherous waters to save someone they've never met. But absent a crisis, it's all too easy to slip back into our corners, to see people of another state or ethnicity as a threat. You can already hear it in the murmured resentments over the allocation of past disaster-relief funds. The narrative of distrust will return, no doubt fueled in part by presidential tweets.

BUT DON'T LOSE HOPE. Empathy is hardwired into our species, says Dr. James Doty, who studies the brain from inside and out as a neurosurgeon and who founded Stanford University's Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education. When we take care of each other, the pleasure centers of our brains light up, he explains. "Altruism is not only a benefit to others, but it benefits us in terms of our health and longevity," says Doty. "It's quite profound." We evolved this way as hunter-gatherer tribes because if one person suffered, it put the whole group at risk. We learned to respond to those in pain.

You can teach yourself to be compassionate when empathy is hard to come by, says Doty. List the things you have in common with someone. Maybe it's that you both have children, or even that you're both Chicago Cubs fans. It may sound too simple, but his research indicates that exercises like this help us see each other's humanity and see ourselves in another's face.

You could also rewatch some of those storm videos when you want to be reminded of our better angels. Over and over, you hear people being reassured as they are supported by the arms of strangers. "We've got you … I've got you … You're O.K.," say the rescuers to the toddler, to the older lady with brightly painted nails, to the woman in labor. It's a message all of us need to hear—or deliver—more often. ◻

Tig Notaro The creator and star of *One Mississippi* talks her home state, Trumpism and how humor can help people face adversity

On your new TV series *One Mississippi*, you've dealt with complex issues surrounding death and mortality. How do you see the relationship between personal tragedy and humor? They go hand in hand. It's hard for me to imagine digesting everything without a comedic release. That's what I use to cope. It's crucial for my peace of mind.

You were a class clown who dropped out of school. Is becoming an acclaimed comedian a way of getting the last laugh? Yes, I failed three grades and then I dropped out, but my time in school was me preparing for my future career as a comedian, so it wasn't time wasted.

What does the current stand-up boom mean for comedy? It mixes things up. Some people are getting paid millions of dollars and then their special bombs, while somebody else sneaks out the most brilliant special. Consistently, Maria Bamford is a huge favorite of mine.

Your show returns to your home state in a tumultuous political climate. What does being a Southerner mean right now? That I come from an aesthetically beautiful place with a dark reality, so I hope for change. I hope to be an influence on this really dark place with a show that takes place in the Deep South with a lead character who's openly gay. As a touring comedian, I'm really going through America to get a taste of the world. People are safely lodged in their bubbles, but stupidity, craziness and desperation have always been there.

Do you think the South has changed in your lifetime, or do recent events make it feel like we're going backward? Stephanie and I got married in Mississippi right when it became legal, and it felt so exciting. I was blown away when the local police shut down the highway and on the way from our beach reception. You could see traffic lined up for miles in both directions. It felt like progress. I have seen change, but I'd be foolish to think that there's not so far to go.

A female character on *One Mississippi* is forced to watch a man in a position of power masturbate. Was this scene based on reality? Everything we shared on the show was based on somebody's truth or someone we have spoken to. Our writers' room is 100% women, and we really wanted to walk people through how horrific this is. You don't have to be touched or even spoken to to be assaulted by somebody. That's what this scene shows, and it can come from anybody.

Have you experienced anything like sexual harassment? Yes.

When did this happen to you? Six years ago.

I'm sorry. How did you react? I was just stunned.

You talked about how it can be "anybody." Was this person someone you worked with? Yes.

Did you continue working with this person after the incident? Yes, it was uncomfortable.

What did you do to cope? I think it was typical, talking to girlfriends, and I've been in therapy for years to just have somebody to talk to about life.

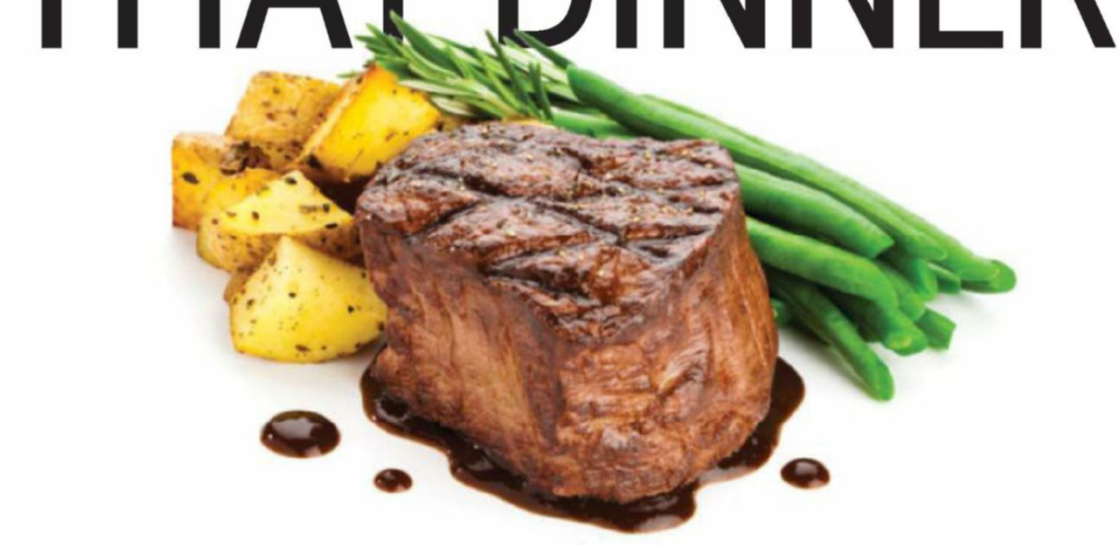
Who is paving the way forward for women in comedy? I'm always impressed by Sarah Silverman. I've had the luxury of being her friend for 15 years, and the way she presents her projects and takes on hard issues is admirable. She puts it all behind her.

—ASHLEY HOFFMAN

> 'Stephanie and I got married in Mississippi right when it became legal ... I have seen change, but I'd be foolish to think that there's not so far to go.'

TARA ZIEMBA—GETTY IMAGES

THAT DINNER



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